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✠ GOOD FRIDAY: 1945 ✠

Not Saturday or Sunday but Friday is the Moslem sabbath, on which the faithful gather for worship in the Mosque and listen to the sermon. "Friday," said Mohammed, "is the best day on which the sun rises, the day on which Adam entered Paradise and was turned out of it, the day on which he repented and on which he died. It will also be the Day of Resurrection."[1] But what Christians call Good Friday is unknown to their calendar. In this, as in many other details of doctrine, the affirmations of the Koran are as astonishing to the Christian reader as are its denials. The doctrine of the Unity of God is the warp and woof of Mohammed's message. Yet in the weaving of this pattern of the unity and sovereignty of Allah, there are strange, golden threads that tell of Allah's Word and Allah's Spirit which indicate Christian influence.

One would not expect reference to the Incarnation, the Atonement and the Resurrection, as the three red-letter days of Christendom, (Advent, Good Friday and Easter), in a book so outspoken in its denial of Christ's Sonship, His death on the cross and His resurrection. But in the account of the miraculous birth of Jesus from a virgin (Surah 19:15-34) we have astonishing words from the lips of the infant Jesus. When Mary, to justify herself, "pointed to him and they said, How are we to speak with one who is in the cradle a child? He said, 'Verily I am a servant of God; He has brought me the Book and He has made me a prophet, and He has made me blessed wherever I be; and He has required of me prayer and almsgiving so long as I live and piety toward my mother and

[1] Hughes' *Dict. of Islam.* p. 131. Wensinck. pp. 83, 84.

has not made me a miserable tyrant: *and peace upon me the day I was born, and the day I die and the day I shall be raised up alive.'* That is Jesus the son of Mary—by the word of truth whereon ye do dispute."[2] The three days mentioned are indeed days of peace in the Gospel record. When Jesus was born the angels sang of peace on earth and prophecy declared Him the Prince of Peace. In His death we have peace with God through the blood of the Cross (Rom. 5:1; Eph. 2:14). And after His resurrection it was Christ who gave the disciples the symbol and the seal of His peace (John 20:19-26; Luke 24:36). The basic message of the Incarnation, of the Atonement and of the Resurrection morning is peace with God. In this threefold sense Jesus Christ is indeed the Prince of Peace from the day He was born, the day He died and the day He arose from the dead.

Good Friday is the central day of these three. For the Incarnation was in order to Atonement and the Atonement was vindicated and glorified by the Resurrection. Thus from apostolic days and for nineteen centuries the Cross became the central message, the symbol and the cynosure of ecumenic Christianity.

"It is a common idea," says James Denney, "that Socinianism or Unitarianism is specially connected with the denial of the Incarnation. It began historically with the denial of the Atonement. It is with the denial of the Atonement that it always begins anew, and it cannot be too clearly pointed out that to begin here is to end sooner or later with putting Christ out of the Christian religion altogether."[3]

Professor William Thomson of Harvard also concludes that the spearhead of Islam's opposition to Christianity is not attack on the Trinity but their ignorance of a "vicarious atonement or a mystery of redemption or of a personal Saviour."[4] Here the basic issue is clearly seen not only by Christians but by Moslems themselves. The word cross does not occur in the Koran but Mohammed's repugnance to it is witnessed by many traditions.[5] Arab lexicographers even call the Cross the *qiblah* of all Christians. It was the most ancient and

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[2] E. H. Palmer's *Quran Translation*. Vol. II p. 29.
[3] *The Death of Christ*. p. 320.
[4] *The Moslem World*. Vol. XXXIII, 1943. p. 102.
[5] Al Bukhāri, *al Tawhîd*. 24, Miskāt 23: 6, etc. Cf. Wensinck's *Handbook of Early Mohammedan Tradition*.

universal symbol of the love of God in Christ. "Good Friday" was commemorated not once a year but on the first day of the week at every assembly of the faithful in the breaking of the bread and sharing the cup of the New Testament. The Sacrament is therefore witness of an unbroken and universal tradition, to the historicity, the centrality and the cruciality of what took place on the first Good Friday.

The well-known author, Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah, of Afghan parentage and still nominally a Moslem, could therefore write in his excellent book on comparative religion:

"The Cross is the centre of all revelation. Have you ever thought what the Bible would be like without the Cross? Take the Cross out of this book and you won't be able to recognize it. If there be no promise of the Cross in the Old Testament then its laws distress me, it is a book of fatalism. If there be no Cross in the New Testament, then it blazes with pitiless splendor. But put the Cross back, and at once the book becomes a Gospel. Its Law becomes Love, its shadows flee away, its destiny is the Father's House. No wonder that Redeemed souls put the Cross at the centre of their experience. On *that* they rest their confidence. . . . To reveal my sin merely would make me afraid of tomorrow. I want my sin conquered: I want to get it beneath my feet. The Cross is the place of victory: Christ did it upon the Cross. I say it reverently, He could not do it but for the Cross. It was expedient for one man to die for the people (John 11:50). He hath put away sin—all sin—original sin and actual sin by the sacrifice of Himself (Heb. 9:26). 'There was no other good enough to pay the price of sin. He only could unlock the gate of Heaven and let us in.' Education could not do it. Social reform cannot do it. Our beautiful essays and ethical sermons cannot do it. It is Christ upon the Cross who discovers sin, who forgives sin, who conquers sin."[6]

These are remarkable words and they tell exactly why perfect peace of mind and heart can come to those who know the mystery of the Cross and accept Christ.

"Peace, perfect peace in this dark world of sin,
The blood of Jesus whispers peace within."

The perfect greeting on Good Friday and on Easter morning is *Salām-'alaikum,* "Peace be unto you." They are the words of Christ to His disciples after the Resurrection. They are also the casual, daily, repetitious greeting of Moslems everywhere. But how different in content and connotation from their use by our Saviour in the upper room!

[6] *Lights of Asia,* London, 1934. p. 76. The entire chapter on Christianity is worthy of careful study.

The heart of the Gospel and that which possesses the greatest power of appeal to Moslems is the union of God's mercy and justice, His righteousness and His peace, meeting at the Cross. This message is not only novel but compelling to anyone who feels a sense of sin. Once men come face to face with the Jesus of the Gospels they will know the deeper meaning of the verses in the Koran quoted above.

If there has been lack of response to the Christian approach, it may have been due not to our bad methods but to our defective message. In the words of Dr. Denney,

> "We may begin as wisely as we please with those who have a prejudice against it, or whose conscience is asleep, or who have much to learn both about Christ and about themselves before they will consent to look at such a gospel, to say nothing of abandoning themselves to it; but if we do not begin with something which is essentially related to the Atonement, presupposing it or presupposed by it or involved in it, something which leads inevitably, though it may be by an indirect and unsuspected route, to the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world, we have not begun to preach the gospel at all; . . . and in any case the fact remains that there is nothing which is so urgently and immediately wanted by sinful men, nothing which strikes so deep into the heart, which answers so completely to its need, and binds it so irrevocably and with such a sense of obligation to God, as the atoning death of Jesus. Implicit or explicit, it is the Alpha and Omega of Christian preaching."[7]

To all who profess and call themselves Christians, this is the message of Good Friday. The Cross of Christ is the searchlight of God. It reveals God's love and man's sin; God's power and man's helplessness, God's holiness and man's pollution. As the altar and propitiation are first of all in the Old Testament, so the Cross and the Atonement are first of all in the New. There is a straight line from every point in the circumference of a circle to the centre. So the Old Testament and the New Testament doctrine of salvation in all its wide circumference and with all it includes of a new heart and a new society, and a new heaven and a new earth, leads back in a straight line to the centre of all—The Lamb that was slain before the foundation of the world.

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[7] *The Death of Christ.* pp. 302, 303.

THE INDISPENSABLE QUALIFICATION

A group of missionary leaders recently met to discuss the type of missionary needed in the post-war world. Many wise statements were made about the qualifications which the new missionary should possess if he would serve God effectively in this new day. He must have a thorough intellectual training, he must understand what is happening in our modern world, he must be able to state his message in terms which men of this day can comprehend, he must have a gift for friendship, he must himself have light before he can enlighten others. But it was not once suggested that the missionary should be a skilled evangelist, that he should be a master in the art of fishing for men, and should have what Dr. Jowett called "a passion for souls." What was the reason for this omission? Possibly it was assumed that anyone who is willing to leave home and country and go as a missionary to Africa or Arabia or India possesses a passion for souls and knows how to lead others to the Saviour; and it was felt that in a discussion of missionary qualifications this could be taken for granted.

But can we take it for granted that every missionary will be an effective soul-winner? Jesus did not take this for granted. When He chose the first group of Christian missionaries ever to be sent forth, He said to them, "I will make you fishers of men." "Taking men alive," "making disciples of all nations," was the task that Jesus wanted accomplished, and for that task He chose and appointed and trained Simon and Andrew, James and John and their fellows. Our Lord might have gone to Jerusalem and chosen a dozen of the leading scholars of His day to state His message for all time, and to expound the relationship of the new revelation to the old. He might have gone to Rome and there have chosen a group of experienced rulers to organize and carry on His campaign of world dominion. Later, both scholars and administrators were called of God to the service of the church. But the primary need was for fishers of men.

And so Christ went, not to the school or to the forum, but to the seaside, and there chose His men. They didn't know anything about the geology of the Sea of Galilee, or the biology of the living creatures that inhabited it. But they were experts in the art of fishing, and it was men of the fisher type that Jesus needed for the initial stage of His campaign. The net must be cast, the Lord's servants must go out into the highways and hedges and compel men to come in, the under shepherds must follow their Master far out to the desert and the mountains to seek and to save the lost. And it was by these men, in whose hearts was a passion for souls, who became all things to all men that they might by all means save some, that the church was founded and the ancient world was evangelized. Christ chose fishermen to convert kings.

But is it so today? Can we take it for granted that modern missionaries are fishermen, busily engaged in casting the net and gathering in the lost? Anyone who is intimately acquainted with missionaries knows that we cannot. The missionary is usually a person of character and ability, a hard worker, who renders service that is very much worthwhile. There are many missionaries who are skilled physicians, eminent educators, learned scholars, and effective preachers and teachers and welfare workers. But how many of us are successful soul-winners? We may be engaged in what we call evangelistic work, and we may be busy preaching the Gospel, but are we leading people to Christ? Are we being used of God in saving souls? Do we *long* to save souls? Is it not too often true that we are more efficient and successful in every other phase of our work than in our primary task of making disciples?

Particularly is this true in Moslem lands. Our medical and educational institutions have been eminently successful, and have won the respect and gratitude of our Moslem friends. But have we been as skilful and as earnest in our effort to make Christ known as the only Saviour of men as we have been in healing the bodies and training the minds of Moslems? Have we put as much effort into this task, the

primary task of every missionary, as we have put into administration or scholarly research or even social activities? Go over the roll of any mission and seek for the men and women who are recognized as being effective soul-winners, and our question will find its answer. Some years ago, one mission carefully examined itself to discover what was the ruling passion of its members, and concluded that it was a passion for work, not a passion for souls. Frequently other reasons are given for the fewness of converts in Moslem lands, and much can be said in support of these reasons. But in that day when the secrets of our hearts and of our service are revealed, we may be shocked to find that the chief cause for the empty nets is not the perversity of the fish, but the half-heartedness and the inefficiency of the fishermen. "Taking men alive" was not our chief concern, and it is no wonder that we made a failure of it.

It is obvious that missionaries are made, to a large extent, by their spiritual environment before they go to the mission field. Those who are fortunate enough to have been reared in churches and trained in schools where there was a warm evangelistic spirit, and where they early learned to talk naturally with others about their relationship to Christ and to lead them to faith in Christ, do not usually find it difficult to learn how to fish for men in strange waters, far from home. The giants of the missionary enterprise a century ago were, for the most part, people who came out of the great revivals which had swept America. Their hearts were aflame, and they went forth to the ends of the earth to kindle that flame in other hearts. They prayed and fasted and wept and waited; like Paul they agonized and were in travail, till Christ should be born in the hearts of their non-Christian friends. But missionaries who come from churches or institutions where there is little evangelistic fervor, and where their fellow-Christians are not busy at the task of winning others to Christ, will probably find themselves incapable of doing effective evangelistic work when they go to the foreign field.

In this day, when some of our strongest denominations

are barely able to win enough new members each year to take the places of those who either physically or spiritually die, and when evidences of genuine revival in the church are so few, it *cannot* be taken for granted that the missionary will have a burning desire to seek and to save the lost, and will be skilled in leading men and women to Christ. And in every discussion of missionary qualifications it should be emphatically stated that whatever other qualities the missionary does or does not possess, it is absolutely essential that he have a sincere desire to lead others to know Christ as their Lord and Saviour, and an adequate amount of experience and skill in this all-important ministry. For whatever else the missions of the church may do, their chief objective is the making disciples of all nations, and unless missionaries make this their primary business, the younger churches may never catch the evangelistic fire, and the task of world evangelization will be long delayed.

There are four essential requirements for successful fishing for men: (1) The fisherman must love the fish. "To influence you must love, and to love you must pray," wrote Forbes Robinson. Our purpose is so to influence men that they will change their allegiance from whatever is dearest to them, and give it to Jesus Christ. And while we must use reason, and present the truth to the minds of men as clearly and forcefully as possible, it usually happens that men can be more effectively influenced through the heart than through the head. In Moslem lands great emphasis has been placed, as it should have been, on the need for an adequate presentation and defence of the truth of Christianity. Yet Raymund Lull, who spent years of his life in writing books to convince Moslems of the truth of the Gospel, agreed with Paul that the greatest thing was love, and in love for the Moslems of North Africa laid down his life on their behalf.

"What led you to become a Christian?" said a missionary to a man in a little town in Iran, who had boldly professed his faith for many years, in the face of much opposition. "Mr. Wilson's tears made me a Christian," he replied. "I was a mulla (priest), and when Mr. Ivan Wilson came here, I

went to see him and argued with him. He tried to answer my arguments, but his reasons made no impression on me. Finally, grieved by the hardness of my heart, he burst into tears and wept over my sinful condition. And his tears did for me what his arguments were unable to do." Paul carried on his ministry in Ephesus "with many tears," and if there were more tears in the eyes of God's fishermen, and a more passionate longing for the salvation of men, there would be more fish in the nets.

(2) The fisherman must make fishing his chief business. Missionaries are busy people, and it usually happens that important tasks crowd out the most important task. Henry Clay Trumbull did not permit this to happen in his busy life. He made it his practice, wherever he found it possible to direct the conversation, as he sat beside people on the train or met them at their work, "to direct it to the theme of themes." As a result, Trumbull became one of the most successful soul-winners of his day, and had the joy of leading thousands, through personal contact, to faith in Christ. We have men and women in Christian work who are specialists in preaching or teaching or social service. How great is the need for specialists in personal work, who will allow nothing to turn them aside from the task to which the Master has called them!

(3) The fisherman must be on the alert. "Watch and pray," was the Master's command to His fishermen, but too often those who have toiled all night and taken nothing lose interest in their work and fall asleep. As a missionary walked along the shore at Alexandria, some years ago, he saw a man lying on the sand. Closer examination revealed the fact that he was holding in his hand a fishing line, the other end of which was in the sea. But there was no possibility of this man's catching a fish, for he was fast asleep! Had an enterprising fish tried hard enough, he might have succeeded in getting himself caught on the hook, but even then there would have been no one to pull him ashore and put him in the basket. How often that is the situation in the church! We profess to be fishing, but we are asleep on the job, and an in-

quirer would sometimes have to jerk rather violently to awake us from our slumbers. How different was the attitude of another fisherman, not far from the sleeper. Alert as a cat, holding a small net in his hand, he leapt from rock to rock, lightly casting his net here and there and everywhere; he showed no signs of being weary in well-doing. So should the Lord's servants watch for souls.

(4) The fisherman must learn to fish by fishing. A post-graduate course in the anatomy or the psychology of the fish would be interesting, and conferences with other fishermen and the study of their experiences would undoubtedly be helpful, but nothing can take the place of actual experience. Jesus made His disciples fishers of men by showing them how He took men alive, and then by sending them forth two by two, to do it themselves. Missionaries may possibly learn the art of fishing for men after they reach their field and learn the strange tongue in which they must give their message, but how much better it is for them to get their practical training while they are still able to use their mother tongue. A young minister who was under appointment to a Moslem field once asked Dr. Robert E. Speer what special preparation he would recommend for his last year of study before going abroad. "The best preparation you can get," replied Dr. Speer, "is to talk with hundreds of people during this year about their relationship to Jesus Christ." No better advice could be given. More important than a thorough study of Islam, necessary as that is, more important even than a mastery of Christian theology and history, is the knowledge of how to lead a sinner to the Saviour. That is the *sine quā non* of missionary service—the indispensable qualification.

Meshed, Iran WILLIAM MCELWEE MILLER

THE CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF ISLAM TO CHRISTENDOM

The formulation of this title may raise some questions which can be blunted, if not wholly answered, by an explanation. Islam is used in its broadest sense to designate that diverse, yet homogeneous civilization which for over thirteen hundred years has been dominated by the Muslim religion; it is meant to be the correspondent of Christendom. As a civilization Christendom had its roots in Judaism. But paganism—Greek, Roman, Teutonic, Celtic, et cetera—enriched its character by the labors of many men professing no religion or a faith different from that of the majority. Similarly the civilization of Islam has its roots in the ancient Hellenistic and Roman Near East; it has been enhanced by the service of many illustrious men from the pagan, Jewish, Zoroastrian, and Christian communities, which have continued as contributing minorities in the Islamic world.[1]

To attempt to encompass a subject like this within a single essay, when a book such as that in the famous Oxford "Legacy" series is needed to do it justice,[2] imposes upon the bold author a necessary limitation and justification. The very limitation of space may be the justification, since there is no single article that comprehensively sum-

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[1] This terminology is used in preference to the frequent designation of this Islamic culture as "Arab." The late Professor Macdonald in his review of George Foote Moore's *History of Religions* (*Moslem World,* x, p. 95f.) objected to this usage. "After the very dubious case of al-Kindi there were no ['Arab philosophers'] and it is a misnomer to apply the term 'Arab' even to Moslem civilization from the 'Abbasid period on. It was Persian, Mesopotamian, Syrian, Egyptian, North African, or Spanish; but not Arab." Professor Macdonald himself preferred the designation "Arabic-speaking."

Joseph Hell (*The Arab Civilization,* Cambridge, 1926, p. 63f.) insists that on the eve of the Golden Age of Islam, "to be a 'Muslim' was tantamount to being an 'Arab.' . . . Henceforward the nationality of the Muslim recedes into the background. . . . We understand by an 'Arab' a Muslim who wrote and spoke Arabic." Professor Hitti (*History of the Arabs,* London, 1940, p. 43, n. 3) uses " 'Arabian' for an inhabitant of the peninsula and 'Arab' for any Arabic-speaking person, particularly if he be a Moslem."

As between "Arab" and "Arabic-speaking," the latter would appear preferable as doing more justice to the diverse peoples who contributed so much to the civilization under discussion. This preference, however, may be too much determined by the modern viewpoint and may constitute an insufficient appreciation of the readiness of these various peoples to pose as Arabs during the Golden Age.

Yet what was it which produced this willingness to sink their racial and national differences in this new unity? Was it Arab energy and might? Or the superiority of the Arabic language which made possible a common culture following the Arab conquerors? Was it not primarily the new spirit of Muslim monotheism which swept them all into a new unity, stimulated them to new civilizing endeavors, and stamped their culture with the hallmark of its reality? To speak of Islam as a civilization would seem to put both the Arabs and associated peoples, as well as the *lingua franca* which made their common life possible and articulate, in their proper place.

[2] *The Legacy of Islam,* ed. by T. W. Arnold and A. Guillaume (Oxford, 1931). This work is still the standard for this subject; it is the point of departure and often the main support of this brief survey, and to it the reader is referred for elaboration of the subject and its general bibliography. An attempt has been made to supplement the work by significant contributions made to the subject in the last thirteen years, most of which are cited *in loco.*

The title of *The Arab Heritage* (Princeton, 1944) might lead one to expect an up-to-date companion to *The Legacy.* A series of lectures delivered at the Summer Seminar of Arabic and Islamic Studies in 1941 at Princeton University, it presents valuable supplementary material to *The Legacy*; it lacks, however, the latter's scope and comprehension, its penetration and authority. For a recent critical review of this work, see *The Moslem World,* vol. xxxiv, pp. 225-227.

marizes the significant features of this cultural saga.[3] The further limitation of not being a professional Arabist, with only secondary interest and proficiency in the field of Islam, may prove to be not disadvantageous in such a task as this, which demands more of a sense of perspective than a mastery of details.

To millions who became a part of its life Islam appeared to be a miracle of Allah, sent by Him, like its birthright the Qur'an, as a pure, divine creation, the gift of heaven to earth. Yet no living thing is ever explicable apart from its heredity and environment. Over the former it has no control; over the latter, little, until it reaches a maturity that can master, within certain limitations of natural and spiritual law, the circumstantial frame of its life. It was even so with Islam.

A reformed pagan tribal society, Islam had not a little of Judaism and Christianity in its inheritance. But the civilization conquered under the Umayyads and dominating the environment in which Islam passed its formative years was primarily Christian—Greek and Latin—and secondarily Zoroastrian Persian. The result is that Islam owes a great debt to the areas of Christendom which it conquered. Our concern here, however, is with the later repayment of that debt to Christendom by the new culture created by Islam.

We can best perceive that debt in the process of repayment by using the two guides to history: chronology and geography. By the middle of the eighth century, when Islam's capital moved to Baghdad, the age of conquest had closed. The language, the law, and the religion of the Qur'an now ruled from the frontiers of China to the Pillars of Hercules. It was during the half millenium of 'Abbasid rule that Islam developed its great intellectual system and homogeneous culture, the basis of which was the brilliant revival of classical learning of the ninth and tenth centuries, the Eastern Renaissance.[4]

It was the cultural creations of these two centuries and that to follow, when Islamic culture was at its height, that then were passed on to the Latin world during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and became a part of medieval Christian culture. This, in turn and in

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[3] The most recent approach to it is by Muhammad Abdur Rahman Khan, "A Survey of Muslim Contribution to Science and Culture," *Islamic Culture*, xvi, pp. 2-20, 136-152. This article, however, is more of a chronicle of Islamic cultural development than an evaluation of the chief cultural contributions of Islam to Europe and the west, such as that attempted in the present essay.

Another article not wholly dissimilar is that by Professor J. C. Archer, "Our Debt to the Moslem Arab," *The Moslem World*, xxix, pp. 248-264. This article does not go beyond the first five centuries of Islam and is more concerned with an analysis of the original quality of the "Arab" contribution as it centered in Baghdad, with notice of a number of significant gifts to the west as they are symbolized in Cordova. The present essay attempts a more comprehensive survey, tries to make a sweep from Tashkent to Toledo with less limitation as to time. The result, we trust, may be a breadth of view and perspective that will concentrate the appreciation and enhance the understanding of the student of the subject.

[4] See Adam Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam* (London, 1937). The word *renaissance*, as D. S. Margoliouth observes in his introductory note to the English translation of this work, "has associations which do not quite correspond with the theme described. . . . The institutions which form the subject of Mez's researches were not so much recovered as introduced. . . ." The term, however, has become conventional.

part, became the basis of the Western Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

As for the geographical bridges over which this Islamic culture passed to Europe and Christendom, there are three: Spain, Sicily, and Syria—in the order of their importance. The middlemen on the first two of these bridges were largely Jews; those on the third were the crusaders and traders.

By the ninth century the Islamic or, as popularly known, Moorish civilization of Iberia not only enjoyed the best of Islamic thought and progress in the east, but itself created and contributed much to that great culture which blossomed in such famed centers as Cordova, Toledo, Seville, and Granada. As the Christian states to the north gained power and pushed farther to the south after the eleventh century, it meant greater contact and interchange between the Latin and Arabic-speaking civilizations.[5]

In Sicily there met freely the language and learning of Greeks, Latins, and Arab-Berbers; the result was a mixed culture which, under the Norman and Hohenstaufen kings and intellectual patrons, Roger II and Frederic II, did much to pass on the best of Islamic civilization to Europe by way of Italy. Palermo, like Toledo in the twelfth century, became in the thirteenth the center of a great translation effort, turning learned Arabic works into Latin. Much of this work was done by scholarly Jews and some of it translated first into Hebrew.[6]

Contrary to popular opinion, formed by the exaggerations of nineteenth century scholarship, Syria and the Crusades were not the primary media for cultural contacts between Islam and Christendom. There was no great center of Islamic learning in or near the Latin kingdom of the east on which Christians could draw nor was there any continuous or profound acculturation of Christendom and Islam, as in Spain and Sicily. Consequently the spiritual and intellectual, the scientific and literary influence of Syria on Europe was slight. Along the newly opened routes of trade, however, there came from the Levant to Europe contributions in agriculture, in navigation, in the industrial and fine arts.[7]

The primary service of Islam to Christendom was the transmission of much of the classical culture and old-world learning from which western Europe had been severed by the barbarians and the Dark

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[5] For Islamic Spain, the standard work is still that of the Dutch scholar, R. Dozy, whose *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne jusqu'à la conquete de l'andalousie par les Almoravides (711-1110)* in four volumes was last revised and brought up to date by E. Lévi-Provencal (Leyden, 1932). Lévi-Provencal's three short lectures entitled, *La civilization arabe en Espagne* (Cairo, 1938), represent the most recent summary of the subject and contain an excellent bibliography of the relevant literature.

[6] Hitti, *op. cit.*, pp. 602-614.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 659-670; *The Legacy*, chap. ii. For a warning against applying extreme strictures on the cultural value of the Crusades, see Professor Thomson's review of *The Legacy* in *Speculum*, vii (1932), pp. 424-427.

Ages which they introduced. In the Eastern Renaissance centering in Baghdad, Syrians, Jews, and Persians busied themselves translating the great scientific and philosophical works of the ancients from Greek to Arabic. Islamic scientists and scholars were not content to transfer only. They transmuted and recreated the classical heritage into something peculiarly their own, truly Islamic, and in this form they passed it on to the inquiring minds of Europe which came to Spain and Sicily to learn.[8] The Aristotle whom Thomas Aquinas came to know through the commentaries of Averroes, for example, was not a little changed from the Greek original. It was even so with the scientists who, in their passage through Islam, were transcended by the creative contributions of that civilization.

The major fields of Islamic interest in the classical learning were philosophy and the sciences; this was largely because of their religious aversion to the graphic arts and because the development of architecture, literature, and other fine arts was generally independent of the classical achievements in those fields of endeavor. Thus it is in philosophy and the sciences—especially medicine and mathematics—that we find Christendom in greatest debt to Islam.[9]

Yet this does not mean that in other cultural fields Islam failed to contribute significantly to our western civilization. It is simply to emphasize a needed perspective. With this in mind we may first turn to a summary of the Islamic legacy to Christendom in the fields of art and architecture, literature and music, law and mysticism.

First, the Islamic contribution to art and architecture.[10] The taboo on all representation of the form of any creature by Puritan Islam inevitably limited the channels in which the aesthetic natures of its devotees might find expression. Sculpture and painting, artistic forms at the center of classical aesthetics, were impossible—except to heretics like the Persians who, in the later middle ages, developed the miniature form of painting, primarily to illustrate literature; to this day that art elicits western admiration and gratitude.[11]

This art of book decoration, religiously motivated like so much of

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[8] Hitti in *The Arab Heritage*, p. 2; cf. M. Sprengling in *Modern Trends in World-Religions*, ed. by A. E. Haydon (Chicago, 1934), pp. 7ff.

[9] Three of the most useful of the general works on the subject may be mentioned here: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 4 vols. and supplement: Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols. (Weimar, 1898), and especially the *Supplementband*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1937-38); the latter lists the relevant literature to the date indicated; George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, vols. 1 and 2 (Baltimore, 1927 and 1931).

[10] The literature on Islamic art during the last decade has been voluminous. For a short treatment of "The Character of Islamic Art," see the last chapter of *The Arab Heritage*, by R. Ettinghausen. Reference should be made to the periodical, *Ars Islamica*, i-ix, 1934-42, for a variety of articles on almost every phase of Islamic art and for detailed bibliography; see especially the essays on style by E. Diez, iii, 201-212; iv, 185-189; v. 36-45. Now indispensable is the monumental work, *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. by A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman, in six vols. (London and New York, 1938-39). The reader may be warned that the contributions to this compendium are of varying quality and may refer to *Ars Islamica*, viii, for excellent reviews of some of the chapters; and to vol. ix of the same journal for a comprehensive answer by Mr. Pope to these reviews.

[11] See especially Binyon, Lawrence, Wilkinson, J. V. S., Gray, Basil, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1933); cf. *Ars Islamica*, i, 160-172, 183-199; iii, 77-88; vii, 134-140, 147-164; ix, 112-124.

medieval art and expended on the beautification of The Holy Book, was largely the creation of Muslims and passed by them to Christians. Indeed, the same is true of the more basic art of book-making, particularly book-binding, for it was Islam which learned the use of paper from the Chinese and transmitted it to Christendom. It was this contribution which later made possible Europe's repayment of the debt by the discovery of printing.[12]

Islamic artisans were masters in the minor arts of inlay, both in wood and metal; of enameling and colored glazing applied to all kinds of pottery, utensils, and tiles; their lustre ware is ranked by collectors second only to that of the Chinese. Islamic heraldic devices particularly influenced western heraldry through the Crusaders.[13] In weaving silks and tapestries, where again much was learned and mediated from Chinese sources, the Islamic world excelled. In some of these arts it was the technique, but in all of them it was the superb ornamental design for which western artists became indebted.

Calligraphy was developed probably to its highest artistic possibilities by the Arabic-speaking world, with whose artists it became highly ornamental. In more than one Christian church has decorative Arabic appeared, often in expressions that would have scandalized the Christian worshipers had they possessed any inkling of what the design was or meant.[14]

The carpet, considered now a common necessity, came from the orient as a luxurious ornament. It was from eastern confrères that European craftsmen learned how to weave pile-rugs, using at first the traditional oriental sleight-of-hand, but later purely mechanical weaving. In the sixteenth century Persian craftsmen carried this art to heights never attained before or since; and for antique as well as modern examples of this skill many a westerner is willing to pay his tribute—literally and figuratively.

The Muslims were great builders and developed an architecture peculiarly their own; it influenced European building, but to what extent and in exactly what particulars is not yet agreed by scholars. No little controversy goes on over the origins and relations of medieval architecture in both Islam and Christendom. Many maintain that Gothic stems directly from the Roman; a newer school insists that the origins of Gothic are wholly to be found in Armenia and Iran. Whatever the truth turns out to be, the present trends of research are against the excesses of the pan-Iranists.[15]

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[12] Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 414f.

[13] Leo A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry: A Survey* (Oxford, 1933).

[14] For a general survey of Arabic writing, see B. Moritz, *Encyl. of Islam*, i, 381-393; cf. N. Abbott, *Ars Islamica*, viii, pp. 65-104, and recent bibliography cited there.

[15] See *The Legacy*, pp. 155ff. For a fairly complete and recent bibliography on the moot question of Gothic origins, see M. B. Smith, *Ars Islamica*, vi, Pt. 1. p. 8, n. 51. This article (*ibid.*,

But all this aside, there are definite contributions of Islam to architecture. In the realm of military building the Crusaders learned much, especially in the use of machicolation and the "right-angled" or "crooked" fortress entrance; the castles of France and England show the results.[16] The sawtoothed battlements of Cairene mosques probably inspired Venetian and other European decoration. Pointed arches almost certainly go back to Islamic originals; the Moorish or horseshoe arch preceded Islam in both Spain and Sasanian Persia, but to Islamic builders we owe its popularization and appreciation in the west. Tracery patterns on surfaces, and perhaps bartracery in windows as well, were originated by Islamic builders. English metal grilles may have been inspired by the wooden lattice screens of Muslim harems. There is evident connection between the minarets of Cairo and Italian campanili; some would trace the influence even farther to Wren's London steeples. There are striking resemblances between North African towers and those of Italy and Spain, between one in Marrakesh and that of Westminster Cathedral in London.[17] The Iberian languages bear ample testimony to the influence of Arabic-speaking artisans upon the building techniques and materials of that peninsula.[18] Ornamental Gothic inscriptions are related to the earlier Kufic, and the decoration of surfaces in low relief by means of arabesques and geometrical pattern are certainly Islamic in origin.[19]

A note on linguistics, and our debt to Islam as regards that science, may well precede attention to literature. In the modern eclipse of linguistics and philology our universities forget their birthright and the once pre-eminent place of that science in the curricula of Europe's great seats of learning; for it was in this discipline that careful and scientific method and procedure first received attention in the universities. Although modern linguistics probably owes most to the study of Sanskrit and of comparative Indo-European philology, nonetheless it is true that the Arabic grammarians had considerable influence on the early development of this science in Europe. At least it may be said that "the modern philological university owes more to the Arabic East than to the remnants of decaying Constantinople."[20]

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pp. 1-15) adds to the questioning of the oft-stated claim that Cordova contributed to architecture the system of vaulting based on intersecting arches and visible intersecting ribs (*The Legacy*, p. 12; Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 597). I am indebted to the author for this and several other references and critical suggestions. Cf. Kenneth John Conant, *A Brief Commentary on Early Mediæval Church Architecture* (Baltimore, 1942).

[16] T. E. Lawrence, *Crusader Castles* (London, 1936).

[17] Mme R. L. Devonshire, *Quelques influences islamiques sur les arts de l'Europe* (Cairo, 1935), pp. 74-78. The same author has published several monographs on the Cairene mosques.

[18] Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 597, n. 2.

[19] For recent materials and literature on Islamic architecture, in addition to the works already mentioned, see K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (Oxford, 1932-40); *Survey of Persian Art*, ii, 897-1445 (review of and reply to same in *Ars Islamica*, viii, 3-12; ix, 171-73, 211-17); and a variety of articles in *Ars Islamica, the Burlington Magazine*, and *Athār-é Irān*.

[20] M. Sprengling, *op. cit.*, p. 8; the remainder of this passage, however, would seem to claim a little too much for the Muslims. For the Islamic philologists, see Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 491-546.

This linguistic science, like so many similar contributions of Islam, was mediated to Christendom by the Jews, on whose Hebrew it exercised a great influence; and this Hebrew came to have a profound influence upon the Protestant reformers. It is said that the exegesis of the great Rabbi David Qimḥi, founded on his Arabic-influenced grammar, is frequently to be traced in the Authorized Version of the Old Testament Scriptures.[21]

Western literature has been dominated, especially since the renaissance, by the classical tradition and it reveals no detailed Islamic influence. Islam inherited a classical culture on the shores of the Mediterranean, but the two literary cultures remained apart; the literature of Arabia and Persia is essentially romantic, appealing through richness of color to the senses and the imagination, whereas the simple, even severe classical appeals through beauty primarily to the intellect. This classical emphasis in the west, however, was always imposed from above, and Professor Gibb[22] assures us that the fact of the popular appeal and transmission of oriental elements in the Middle Ages probably will be explained and established by the modern study of folk-literature, which may well show a dependence of the west upon the east for both materials and techniques.

A good, yet still disputed example of this is the dependence of the troubadour poetry of southern France on that of Arabia as found in the court poetry of Andalusia. Long denied because of the proved extravagances of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century scholars, the number and character of the coincidences between the two literatures are too striking to be ignored.[23]

On the other hand, "whatever place may be assigned to Arabic poetry in stimulating the genius of the Romance peoples, the debt of medieval Europe to Arabic prose literature is hardly open to question, though still far from explored in detail."[24] Episodes from eastern stories are found in the popular literature of both Germany and France; it is so with Boccaccio's *Decamerone* and Chaucer's *Squieres Tale*. Arabic apologues traveled all over Europe. The Arabic *Book of Sindbad,* derived from Sanskrit by devious means, appears in Syriac, Greek, Hebrew, Spanish, Latin, and English.

The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers, first English book printed by Caxton, came through French, Latin, and Spanish from an

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[21] G. H. Box in *The Legacy of Israel,* ed. by E. R. Bevan and Chas. Singer (Oxford, 1928), p. 368.

[22] Professor William Thomson in his review of *The Legacy of Islam* (*Speculum,* vii, pp. 424-27) states that H. A. R. Gibb's chapter is "the most original contribution to the book" . . . and . . . "sums up clearly and concisely most of the available evidence. . . ." This section is almost wholly a summary of Professor Gibb's essay.

[23] For significant recent discussions of this general problem, see L. Ecker, *Arabischer, provenzalischer und deutscher Minnesang; eine motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Bern and Leipzig, 1934); H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au xi^e siècle, ses aspects généraux et sa valeur documentaire* (Paris, 1937); R. Mendendez Pidal, *Poesia árabe y poesia Europea, con otros estudios de literature medieval* (Buenos Aires, 1941).

[24] *The Legacy,* p. 192.

Arabic original.[25] The Arabic *Kalila and Dimna* tales, also derived from the Sanskrit, turn up in various garbs all over Europe. There are few early Spanish prose writings that did not draw on Arabic materials; and Spanish literature, influencing the rest of Europe, was itself much affected by the spirit of Andalusian culture. Here flourished the morisco romances which achieved a synthesis of Moorish and Spanish culture, marked the beginning of the modern novel. It is the spirit and wit of Andalusia which breathes through the pages of Cervantes.

Dante, the very summation of the medieval spirit, shows unmistakable Islamic influence both in the schematic framework and the philosophical content of his thought. The former with its elaborate eschatology and subtle symbolism has been traced to the Spanish Arab, Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1240), although their essential characteristics carry one beyond to Jewish sources in the Talmud and Midrash. As for Dante's philosophy, it is enough to note his quotations from Avicenna, Algazel, and Averroes.[26]

Finally, after the classical renaissance of the eighteenth century, came Galland's translation of the *Arabian Nights*,[27] followed quickly by *Persian Tales* and *Turkish Tales*. There are some who would suggest that but for these tales Dafoe and Swift would never have created Crusoe and Gulliver.

Sir William Jones in 1774 issued his Latin *Commentaries on Asiatic Poetry*, and henceforth Arabic and Persian poetry were to have direct influence on Goethe, Schiller, and the German romanticists. Less influenced were the French and English romantic schools, but in nineteenth-century England was to appear a perfect marriage of the east and the west in Fitzgerald's *Rubā'iyāt* of Omar Khayyam, "truly Persian and truly English, not a translation, but a recreation."

The musical legacy of Islam to humanity is larger than the orthodox Muslim prohibition of music and especially of musical instruments would lead one to expect. In Christendom music served the church. In Islam it was not so, and any reader of the Arabian Nights knows how large was the secular role played by music in Arab life.

The contribution of Islam to music was both practical and theoretical. The practical art was diffused by the minstrels of Spain and southern France, even though we may not accept the derivation of troubadour from the Arabic *ṭarrāb*—"minstrel." Certainly Spanish

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[25] For recent work of the relations of Islam and English literature, see S. C. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose* (New York, 1937), with supplementary notes in *The Moslem World*, xxxi, pp. 371-399; and B. P. Smith, *Islam in English Literature* (Beirut, 1939).

[26] R. A. Nicholson in *The Legacy*, pp. 226-229; A. Guillaume, *The Legacy of Israel*, pp. 169-170; 195-196; 275-276. The pioneer work on this subject has been done by Asin Palacios in *Islam and the Divine Comedy* (London, 1926).

[27] For an elaborate discussion and bibliographical description of translations of this popular work, see D. B. Macdonald, "A bibliographical and literary study of the first appearances of the Arabian Nights in Europe." *Library Quarterly*, ii, 387-420, 1932.

mascara and English *masker* (play-actor) are the Arabic *maskhara* (buffoon). Numerous are the musical instruments bequeathed by the Arabs to Europe. The lute, rebec, guitar, naker, timbal, and kanoon or psaltery derive from the Arabic *al-'ūd, rabāb, qītāra, naqqāra, al-ṭabl,* and *qānūn.*[28] The Arabs are responsible for frets (cf. Arabic *farīḍa, farḍ*), which are said to have registered the employment of the major mode for Europe. Islamic minstrels must have passed on their two great contributions—mensural music and the "gloss" or adornment of melody—long before the theorists took cognizance of them. This adornment of melody, or discant, is said to have been the genesis of harmony.[29]

The quantity and quality of Arabic musical literature are impressive. Most praiseworthy are the great theorists: al-Kindī (d.c. 873), the first from whom we have extant works; al-Fārābī (d. 950), perhaps the greatest of them all; Ibn Sīna (d. 1037), who made substantial contributions; and 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294), who freely criticized his predecessors and was the founder or popularizer of the Systematist School and, "after al-Fārābī, the greatest of the musical theorists."[30] Al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīna were best known in Europe: Bacon quotes them both and al-Fārābī continued to attract attention of western scholars until the seventeenth century; both of the Greek Scholiast School, they added to their Greek learning. The systematist scale created by 'Abd al-Mu'min[31] has been described as "the most perfect scale ever devised."[32]

We next turn to examine the contribution of Islam to law and mysticism. This may seem a strange combination, especially for Islam, and the reader may ask, "What can a severely legalistic system like Islam contribute to social progress, or know of mystical religion?" The answer is surprising. Any great ethnic faith must be judged by its capacity for two things: encouraging the individual in the practice of the divine presence, and implementing the vision thus gained in social institutions and a distinctive way of life.[33]

Islam at its worst has been characterized by a sterile legalism, but that does not mean that at its best it has not contributed creatively to

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[28] H. G. Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments* (first series, London, 1931; second series, Glasgow, 1939).

[29] Cf. "The Minstrels of the Golden Age of Islam" by the same author in *Islamic Culture,* xvii, 273-281. For "Oriental Influences on Occidental Military Music," see *ibid.,* xv, 235-242.

[30] Farmer, *The Sources of Arabian Music:* an annotated bibliography of Arabic manuscripts which deal with the theory, practice and history of Arabian music (Bearsden, Scotland, 1940), introduction, p. 7.

[31] The most important works of al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīna, and 'Abd al-Mu'min (also al-Urmawī) have been translated by Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger in *La musique arabe,* 4 vols. (Paris, 1930-39).

[32] Sir Hubert Parry, quoted by Farmer in *The Legacy,* p. 368. Professor Farmer, the present authority on Arab music, also contributed the article on "musiqi" in the *Encyl. of Islam,* iii, 754-5, q.v. for his earlier works and those of Ribera, his great predecessor. In addition to those more general contributions already cited, he has recently published several Arabic and Latin texts dealing with the subject.

[33] Cf. Prov. 29:18, "Where there is no vision, the people break loose; but those who obey the law—happy are they."

human society. The tribal system inherited by Islam, with its blood tie replaced by the community of faith, made for a social solidarity founded upon brotherhood and equality. When the chief of a newly converted tribe said to the Prophet, "Thou art our prince," the quick reply was, "The prince is God, not I."

In Islamic legal theory and earlier practice the principle of unity and order is personified by Allah, not the *polis, civitas,* or *state.* Islam was a thorough-going theocracy and the Muslim to this day has a vivid sense of the rule of God in daily life. There can be little doubt that this phase of Islam was a part of the scholasticism which we shall see was handed on to Christendom and made a part of the great medieval catholic theocracy.[34] Yet unlike Roman Christianity, Islam has no church, no priests, no sacraments. The most rigid protestantism is almost a sacerdotal religion compared with Islam's personal monotheism, ever intolerant of any interference between man and his Creator.[35]

Noting that the earliest European writers on international law—Bello, Ayala, Victoria, Gentiles—all hailed from Spain and Italy, there are those who claim that these authors, whose work has no counterpart in Greek and Roman literatures, were much influenced by Islamic treatises on *jihād* (war) and *siyar* (conduct in time of war and peace). These contend that Islamic law first recognized the rights of an enemy in all times, in peace as much as in war; and that first in Islam was developed a science of international law as distinct from general law and political science.[36]

The contribution of Islam to law and society is difficult to evaluate. We may conclude with this observation of Santillana: "Among our positive acquisitions from Arab law, there are legal institutions such as limited partnership and certain technicalities of commercial law. But even omitting these, there is no doubt that the high ethical standard of certain parts of Arab law acted favorably on the development of our modern concepts, and herein lies its enduring merit."[37] The specific contributions mentioned were probably mediated by Italian city-states.

As for mysticism, the counterpart of law, it is little short of amazing to observe the similarities of the medieval Christian and Islamic expressions of this profound religious experience. It was the common

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[34] This is not to imply that Islam was the source of catholic theocracy, which is derived primarily from the Old Testament.

[35] May not someone search fruitfully for some connection between the spirit, if not the theology, of Islam and the Protestant reformers, perhaps in the work of Spanish Jews who were expelled from Spain in 1492? Only a surmise, this would be hard to trace, and is not much encouraged by such work as that of Manfred Kohler, *Melanchthon und der Islam* (Leipzig, 1938) or of C. U. Wolf, "Luther and Mohammedanism," *Moslem World,* xxxi, 161-77.

[36] M. Hamidullah, "Muslim Conduct of State," *Islamic Culture,* xv, 1941, 1-44, 157-206, 271-316; xvi, 1942, 53-71, 161-181, 316-338; a full bibliography is in vol. xvi, pp. 326-338.

[37] *The Legacy,* p. 310.

ground where these two faiths most nearly touched each other. One can readily observe this by comparing any standard work on Christian mysticism with Nicholson's *Studies in Islamic Mysticism,* or by setting side by side Margaret Smith's work on Rābi'a of Baṣra[38] and Evelyn Underhill's on St. Theresa.[39] You will find yourself at times wondering which is Christian and which is Muslim.

"O my Lord, if I worship Thee from fear of Hell, burn me in Hell, and if I worship Thee from hope of Paradise, exclude me thence, but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake, then withhold not from me Thine Eternal Beauty."[40]

That is from Rābi'a, Muslim saint of the eighth century.

"Betwixt me and Thee there lingers an 'it is I' that torments me. Ah, of Thy grace, take away this 'I' from between us!

> "I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I,
> We are two spirits dwelling in one body.
> If thou seest me, thou seest Him,
> And if thou seest Him, thou seest us both."[41]

This is from Ḥallāj, Muslim mystic martyred in A.D. 922, who, when brought to be crucified, on seeing the cross and nails, turned to the people with this prayer:

"And these Thy servants who are gathered to slay me, in zeal for Thy religion and in desire to win Thy favor, forgive them, O Lord, and have mercy upon them; for verily if Thou hadst revealed to them that which Thou hast revealed to me they would not have done what they have done; and if Thou hadst hidden from me that which Thou hast hidden from them, I should not have suffered this tribulation. Glory unto Thee in whatsoever Thou doest, and glory unto Thee in whatsoever Thou willest.[42]

Ḥallaj was a Ṣūfī whose punished crime was not that "he divulged the mystery of the divine Lordship," but that in his earnestness he set up his personal authority against the Muslim social authority, and that his teachings led to social and religious anarchy.[43]

It was not until the great al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) appeared that the place of mysticism was intellectually defended and given a sure place in orthodox Islam. One of the greatest men produced by Islam, Ghazālī was, as it were, the Islamic Kant, who subjected the way of reason to a withering criticism that ended in scepticism. Then came his conversion to Ṣūfism; and it was his personal experience of the

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[38] *Rābi'a the Mystic and her Fellow-Saints in Islam* (Cambridge, 1928); "Rābi'a the Mystic," *Moslem World,* xx, 337-343.
[39] *The Mystics of the Church, etc.* (London, 1925), ch. ix, 168-186.
[40] M. Smith, *op. cit.,* p. 30.
[41] *The Legacy,* p. 218; Nicholson, *op. cit.,* p. 80.
[42] *The Legacy,* p. 217.
[43] The standard work on this martyred mystic and one of the great treatments of Ṣūfism is Louis Massignon's *La passion d'al-Ḥallāj* (Paris, 1922).

mystics that inspired the great religious revival which his example, no less than his works, brought about in circles hitherto unfriendly to mysticism.[44] There is plenty of evidence that this great figure was very influential with the thinkers and mystics of Christendom, where he was read by many.

Such influence applies also to the next great Muslim mystic, Ibn al-'Arabi, who developed an Islamic Logos doctrine, with the Prophet as preexistent perfect man, the mediator of divine grace, and the cosmic principle by which the world is animated and sustained.[45] With him "Ṣufism tends to become, not so much an affair of the heart and conscience, as a speculative philosophy out of touch with those intimate moral and religious feelings that inspired the earlier mystics."[46] He is the intellectual father of the later Persian poets and mystics—Jilī, Rūmī, Ḥāfiẓ, and 'Aṭṭār, who, with their tendencies toward pantheism, would not be included in the orthodox fold of Islam and had only a late literary influence in the west.

The relationship of Christian and Islamic mysticism, at least in the earlier Middle Ages, may be mirrored in this couplet of the poet Jāmi':

> "O Lord, none but Thyself can fathom Thee,
> Yet every mosque and church doth harbor Thee."[47]

When we turn to science and philosophy[48] we find that the legacy of Islam to our culture is more positive and original. During the

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[44] For "the best general account of this supreme figure yet available in English" consult the concluding chapters of D. B. Macdonald's *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam* (Chicago, 1909). The same author has some pertinent remarks to make in *Isis*, xxv, 9-15 (continued in xxvii, 9-10) in reviewing Father J. T. Muckle's edition of the Latin translation of *Algazel's Metaphysics* (Toronto, 1933). The most recent short account of Ghazali is by N. B. Faris in *The Arab Heritage*, 142-158. The most important recent work is that of Asin Palacios, *La espiritualidad de Algazel y su sentido cristiano*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1934, 35, 40), which Dr. George Sarton describes as "a fundamental contribution to the history of Islamic and Christian theology."

[45] Nicholson, *op. cit.*, pp. 87, 104f.

[46] *The Legacy*, p. 229. For the best treatments of this great figure, concerning whom there is no general agreement as yet, see A. E. Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muḥyid Dīnibnul 'Arabi* (New York, 1939); and Miguel Asin Palacios, *El Islam cristianizado; estudio del "sufismo" a través de las obras de Abenarabi de Murcia* (Madrid, 1931), which gives the reverse side of his work on Dante (above, p. 96, n. 26) and tries to prove Christian inspiration of Ibn al 'Arabi. Nyberg's *Kleinere Schriften* has not been available, but it is said to have an especially good exposition of al-'Arabi's theosophical system in its preface.

[47] Quoted by W. W. Cash, *Christendom and Islam* (New York and London, 1937), p. 92. For recent significant work on Islamic mysticism, in addition to those mentioned above, see A. J. Arberry, *An Introduction to the History of Sufism* (London, New York, and Toronto, 1943); Margaret Smith, *Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East* (London, 1931) and *An Early Mystic of Baghdad* (London, 1935). Some of the best literature on the subject is in Spanish and the reader is referred to the periodical *Al-Andalus*, published by the schools of Arabic studies in Madrid and Granada, for recent literature and bibliography. See also Asin Palacios, "Contacts de la spiritualité musulmane et de la spiritualité chretienne," *Cahiers du Sud*, xxii, pp. 77-83.

[48] On these subjects the reader may consult, in addition to the *Encyl. of Islam*, Dr. George Sarton's *Introduction to the History of Science*, vols. i and ii (Baltimore, 1927 and 1931). To the beginning of the fourteenth century these volumes trace the scientific and intellectual history of humanity, giving information and bibliography for each subject and person, including all those Islamic contributors mentioned here in subsequent pages. It only remains to add that Dr. Sarton has kept the subject up to date in his reviews and bibliographies, than which there are none more detailed, in the periodicals, *Isis* and *Osiris*. Also to be mentioned is Aldo Mieli's *La science arabe et son rôle dans L'evolution scientifique mondiale* (Leiden, 1939); this is a survey and not a history, although the material is arranged historically. The work contains much valuable information arranged for easy reference, but for some of its limitations reference may be made to Sarton's review in *Isis*, No. 81 (vol. xxx, 2), pp. 291-295; cf. that by Professor Jeffery in *The Moslem World*, xxix, pp. 404-407.

earlier half of the Middle Ages Islamic scientific contributions were of the first order, particularly in the fields of medicine, astronomy, and mathematics. They not only transmitted Greek science to the west, but added to it, mostly along practical lines. They received most of their Greek science through Syriac-speaking Christians, especially Nestorians, whose intellectual capital was at Jundeshapur in southwest Sasanian Persia. They did the translating from Greek and Syriac into Arabic during the first two centuries of Islam; to this much was added during the next two centuries, and later passed on to Latins in Spain and Sicily, to a great extent by the Jews.[49]

Although one may not be prepared to affirm with Briffault that western "science owes . . . to Arab culture . . . its existence,"[50] nor to assert with a contemporary Muslim scholar that modern scientific method has been contributed to the west by Islam,[51] yet there can be little doubt that the new scientific spirit of enquiry and investigation as well as the method of observation and experimentation introduced and enhanced in Europe came from the contact of western students with the Islamic world.[52]

Of the natural sciences, apart from medicine, it is to physics and chemistry—or rather to the latter's forerunner alchemy—that Islam made most contributions; although minor additions were made to geography, geology, botany, mineralogy, and mechanics. Whatever its origin, the word *alchemy* shows plainly the Arabic touch. The father of alchemy is said to be Jābir ibn Ḥayyān of Kūfa, but his date and identification are disputed by an increasing number who give the honor to al-Rāzi of Rayy (d. 925).[53] Be that as it may, improved methods of evaporation, filteration, sublimation, melting, distillation, and crystallization are associated with Jābir; and scientific descriptions of calcination and reduction are attributed to him. He is said to have prepared many chemical substances: sulphide of mercury, arsenious oxide, aqua regia, nearly pure vitriols, alums, alkalis, and saltpeter. From the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries the works bearing his name were the most influential in this science in both Europe and Asia.[54]

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[49] For the latest survey and literature on this early period of Islamic tutelage in the sciences, see Max Meyerhof, "On the Transmission of Greek and Indian Science to the Arabs," *Islamic Culture*, xi, pp. 17-27.

[50] *The Making of Humanity* (London, 1919), p. 191.

[51] Razi-ud-Din Siddiqui, "The Contributions of Muslims to Scientific Thought," *Islamic Culture*, xiv, pp. 33-44.

[52] Hitti in *The Arab Heritage*, p. 3f.

[53] Meyerhof, *op. cit.*, p. 24; cf. *The Legacy*, pp. 315, 325-329, *et passim*. Meyerhof believes that Ruska and Kraus have proved that Jābir is to be dated in the tenth rather than the eighth century, that the work bearing his name is probably the compilation of a school of scientists, and that al-Rāzi more rightfully could bear the title of 'father of alchemy.' For Ruska's work on al-Rāzi, see *Das Buch der Alaune und Salze* (Berlin, 1935); *Al-Rāzī's Buch Geheimniss der Geheimnisse* (Berlin 1935 and 37); and "Die Alchemie al-Rāzi's," *Der Islam*, 1935, cf. Paul Kraus, *Jābir ibn Hayyān essai sur l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam*, vol. i (Paris, 1935).

[54] Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 380f.

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The Persian al-Rāzi,[55] or Rhazes, is said to have excelled Jābir in his exact identification of substances, and his clear descriptions of chemical processes and apparatus; the descriptions were always devoid of any mystical elements. Rāzi would have none of the division of substances into "bodies," "souls," and "spirits"; he insisted on the still-used common categories of animal, vegetable, and mineral. His works were known to the Latin west and quoted by Bacon.

It is of interest to note that the terms for chemical substances, such as *realgar* (red sulphide or arsenic), *tutia* (zinc oxide), *alkali, antimony, elixir, alcohol,* and terms for chemical apparatus, such as *alembic* and *aludel,* show clearly the Arabic influence.[56]

In physics and mechanics the three great Islamic figures are the Arabs from Baṣra, al-Kindī (d.c. 873) and al-Haytham (d.c. 1039), and the Persian, al-Bīrūnī (d. 1048). In Egypt and Mesopotamia the technical arts were developed for irrigation works and canals, and many books were written on such topics as raising water, water-wheels, balances, water clocks, wind-mills,[57] et cetera. Al-Bīrūnī, by using the method of Archimedes' bath, achieved the exact specific weight of eighteen precious stones and metals. He is a good example of those versatile scholars of the Golden Age of Islam, and more famous as an historian, geographer, mathematician.

The Basra physicists made their great discoveries in the science of optics, which was Islam's greatest contribution in physics to the west. Many of the writings of al-Kindī are lost, and the majority of those which have been preserved not yet published; but that on *Optics* survives in the Latin. Based on Theon's recension of Euclid, it was, in turn, used by Roger Bacon for his work on the subject. More advanced in this science were the works of al-Haytham, or Alhazen. He opposed Euclid, Ptolemy, and other ancients who believed that the eye sends out visual rays to the object of vision. To him it is the form of the perceived object that passes into the eye and is transmitted by its "transparent body," i.e., the lens. He came near to the theoretical exposition of magnifying glasses and made advances in explaining refraction and reflection. In his fundamental study *On the Burning-sphere* he makes real scientific progress on focusing, magnifying, inversion of the image, formation of rings and colors by experiments, and makes first mention of the *camera obscura.* Bacon, da Vinci, and Kepler give evidence of his influence.[58]

In the field of medicine, and particularly materia medica, Islam was

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[55] Al-Rāzi is most famous as a clincal physician (below, p. 103), but recently he has been discovered by P. Kraus and S. Pines to have been a philosopher of remarkable originality and independence of thought; see M. Meyerhof, *Islamic Culture,* xv, pp. 45-58, and his description of Kraus' latest publication of al-Rāzi's works.

[56] For a solid work on alchemy, see Julius Ruska, *Turba philosophorum: Ein Beitrag sur Geschichte der Alchemie* (Berlin, 1931).

[57] Perhaps an invention of Islamic peoples; see *The Legacy,* p. 333.

[58] *Ibid.,* pp. 333-335; Hitti, *op. cit.,* p. 629; Abdur Rahman Khan, *op. cit.,* p. 138.

very influential in Europe. In its early translation period when Greek medicine was being made available, the stimulus and often the work came from seven generations of a Nestorian family, many of whom were physicians to the 'Abbasid caliphs. In the Golden Age of the tenth and eleventh centuries there was a shift from pandects compiled from ancient sources to imposing encyclopaedic works in which the knowledge of the past was classified and set against that of the moderns, who then struck out on their own.

The first of this new school was al-Rāzi of Rayy (d.c. 925), undoubtedly "the greatest and most original of all the Muslim physicians, and one of the great physicians of all time."[59] His *al-Ḥāwī,* known to medieval Europe as the *Libre continens,* gathered in one huge corpus Greek, Syriac, Persian, Indian, and early Arab medieval knowledge; to it he added his own inimitable experiences. Classic is his description of measles and small-pox, the first one really adequate; and his treatment was sound and detailed.[60]

Among the first Arabic works to be translated into Latin were those of the Jew, Isaac Judaeus (d. 955), physician to the Fāṭimid rulers of Qairawān in Tunisia. They were still being read in the seventeenth century. A high ethical concept is shown in his tract entitled, *Guide for Physicians;* and there is also a characteristically practical element in this bit of advice: "Ask thy reward while the sickness is waxing, or at its height, for being cured, he will surely forget what thou didst for him." It is to be balanced by this: "Neglect not to treat the poor, for there is no nobler work than this."[61]

Less a physician and more of a philosopher,—for the Arabic *ḥakīm* or doctor was expected to be both—it was the Persian Ibn Sīna, or Avicenna (d. 1037), who most influenced the development of medicine by his *Canon of Medicine* (al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb). This encyclopaedia is the culmination and masterpiece of Islamic systematization and deals with general medicine, simple drugs, all kinds of diseases, special pathology, and pharmacopoeia. In the last thirty years of the fifteenth century it was issued twenty times, has probably been studied more than any other medical work, and is still in constant use in the orient. There are those who say that Avicenna is the most important medical figure between Galen and Osler.

Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288), the head of the famous Nāsīrī hospital at Cairo, has been credited with the first discovery of the circulation of the blood in the lungs.[61a] In Baghdad the first hospital was created at the order of Harūn al-Rashīd at the beginning of the ninth century.

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[59] E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine* (Cambridge, 1924), p. 44.

[60] See M. Meyerhof, "Thirty-three Clinical Observations by Rhazes (*circa* 900 A.D.)," *Isis,* xxii, 321-372.

[61] *The Legacy,* p. 326.

[61a] This was three centuries before the Portuguese Servetus, who is often credited with the discovery; see Brockelmann, *op. cit.,* vol. 1, p. 899 f.; and M. Meyerhof, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin,* iv (1935), pp. 37-88.

Traveling hospitals were known later. They served as clinics for the training of young physicians.[62] On the whole it was in the field of clinical diagnosis, therapeutics, and pharmacopoeia[63] that Islam made its greatest contribution.

In astronomy and mathematics Islamic scientists were primarily pupils of the Greeks and for the most part continued, then passed on their science. To it they added not a little from Indian sources. In important respects they improve on both, and go beyond them.

In mathematics they founded the arithmetic of every-day life by their use of ciphers and the numerals,[64] which they probably got from India. The use of the cipher[65] revolutionized the science of calculation. The numerals in medieval times were called algorisms, which term derives from the brilliant Muslim mathematician, al-Khwārizmī (d.c. 850), who probably spread the use of them throughout the Muslim world.[66]

This great scientist was equally important in the development of *al-jabr*,[67] which, as the name algebra implies, was given by Islam to Christendom. Although receiving this science also from India, the mathematicians of Islam improved on it and made it exact—a fact that is partially due to their better language medium for its exposition. Leonardo of Pisa and Master Jacob of Florence both acknowledge their debt to al-Khwārizmī.[68]

The next great figure in Islamic mathematics is 'Umar al-Khayyām (d. 1123), whose algebra goes beyond that of al-Khwārizmī; it is not only concerned with quadratics, but is mostly taken up with cubic equations, and marks a great advance upon the Greeks. "The method used to deal with these problems is geometrical analysis, a kind of analytical geometry as it was conceived before Descartes at a period when the systems of co-ordinates and mathematical notations were not yet established."[69] The Muslims were really more at home in geometry, following the Greeks, than in arithmetic and algebra, after the Hindus. Often their algebraic demonstrations are geometrical. They were indisputably the founders of plane and spherical trigonometry, which properly speaking did not exist among the Greeks.

Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūṣī (d. 1274), a great mathematician of the period

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[62] As a sample of Islamic surgery, see M. Meyerhof, *The Cataract Operations of 'Ammar ibn 'Ali al-Mawsilī* (Barcelona, 1937).

[63] Meyerhof and G. P. Sobhy have undertaken to publish one such work, "which had the greatest influence on later literature" (F. Krenkow, *Islamic Culture*, xiii, p. 122), but they have thus far only advanced through the first three letters of the alphabet in the author's list: *The Abridged Version of the Book of Simple Drugs* of Aḥmad ibn Muhammad al-Ghāfiqī y Gregorius Abu'l-Faraj al-Ghāfiqī (Pt. I, Cairo, 1932; Pt. II, Cairo, 1937).

[64] Nabia Abbott, "Arabic Numerals," *JRAS*, 1938, pp. 277-280.

[65] Arabic *ṣifr*, meaning 'something written, a book, or character'; not *ṣifr*, which means 'empty' and is the equivalent of zero. Latin *cifra* did duty for both meanings. See *The Legacy*, p. 386.

[66] For the sources of al-Khwārizimī's algebra, see S. Gandz in *Osiris* I, pp. 263-277, 1936.

[67] For its meaning and further details, see *The Legacy*, p. 382ff.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 392.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 392.

of the Mongol invasion, wrote a *Treatise on the Quadrilateral* which fully develops this trigonometry; this was one of the four Arabic books added to the sixteen of the Greeks, which he edited as constituting the sum of mathematical knowledge to the thirteenth century.

This science of course was connected with astronomy in which the Arabs made some valuable observations and passed on important works lost in the original Greek. Thābit ibn Qurra (d. 901), a leader of the heathen star-worshippers who flourished in Ḥarrān until the Mongols destroyed their last temple in the thirteenth century, had a large share in this double work; some of his writings, in turn, were translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona. From this same group in Ḥarrān came the Muslim astronomer al-Battāni (d.c. 929), admired and eulogized by the Europeans of the Middle Ages and Renaissance and known to them as Albategnius. Besides his chief astronomical treatise and tables, he popularized, if he did not discover, the first notions of trigonometrical ratios as they are now used. He rectified the calculations for the orbits of the moon and certain planets and "determined with greater accuracy the obliquity of the ecliptic, the length of the tropical year and of the seasons and the true and mean orbit of the sun."[70]

Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, who presided over a famous observatory founded by the Mongol Khans at Marāgha near Lake Urmiyeh, had the best collection of astronomical instruments then in existence; and in the making of these—armillary spheres, astrolabes, alidades, et cetera—received pupils from all over the world. The great Bar Hebraeus, Primate of the Syrian Church, visited this great institution twice to lecture, once on Euclid, and again on Ptolemy. Another great astronomer of this same century, Ibn Bāṣo, built an astrolabe that could be used in all latitudes.[71] The influence of Arabic-speaking astronomers can be readily observed in many of the star-names in European languages,[72] as well as in such technical terms as *azimuth* (al-sumūt), *nadir* (naẓīr), and *zenith* (al-samt).

Islamic astronomers were also concerned with geography and it was they who kept alive through the "Dark Ages" the ancient doctrine of the sphericity of the earth, without which the discovery of America by Columbus would have been impossible. Of navigators,[73] travelers,[74] and historians[75] much might be written; but space has to be conserved somewhere.

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[70] Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 376; also pp. 314-316, 370-374.
[71] For a critical study of this figure by H. P. J. Renaud, see *Hesperis*, xxiv, 1937, pp. 1-12.
[72] For example, Acrab ('aqrab, scorpion), Algedi (al-jadi, the kid), Altair (al-ṭā'ir, the flyer), Deneb (dhanab, tail), and Pherkad (farqad, calf).
[73] Sulaiman Nadvi, "Arab Navigation," *Islamic Culture*, xv, pp. 435-448; xvi, pp. 72-86, 182-198, 404-422.
[74] For a brief survey of the Islamic travelers and geographers, see Nafis Ahmad, *Islamic Culture*, xvii, pp. 241-264. Cf. G. H. T. Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages* (London, 1938).
[75] Hitti, *op. cit.*, pp. 387-392; Abdur Rahman Khan, *Islamic Culture*, xvi, pp. 13-17.

Before passing from science to philosophy, however, we may well pay tribute to one of Islam's great men, Ibn Khaldūn of Tunis (d. 1406), who was probably the world's first pragmatic sociologist and founder of that science[76]—far ahead of his time. He was the first to formulate laws of national progress and decay; to give climate and geography and such physical facts their due along with moral and spiritual forces at work; to understand that everything from pins and poems to kings and queens make up the science of history. No one had ever taken so comprehensive and philosophic a view of history.[77]

As for medieval philosophy and theology and the relations of Muslim, Jewish, and Christian thinkers, there are many difficulties, complexities, and varying evaluations of the Islamic contribution to western thought. Contemporary Muslim scholars, on the one hand, write as though the whole development of philosophy in Europe has an Islamic base, as though the Muslim academies were patterns for all the European universities. At the opposite extreme are those occidentals who insist that there is no philosophy worthy of the name Islamic or Arab, but that the Muslims took over the Greek philosophy of the people whom they conquered and beclouded it with some further elements borrowed from India and Persia.[78]

The truth is somewhere between the extremes. There is no doubt of the Greek origins of Islamic thought, as the early Muslim thinkers attest. They inherited the work of Pythagoras, Empedocles, Plato, Aristotle, and the later neo-Platonists: a classical tradition that had been long obscured in Europe, although a university of Latin scholars in the Middle Ages knew some of these works in Greek. To this inheritance the men of Islam made no startling or primarily significant additions, but they did bring to bear upon it the spirit of their monotheistic faith which, coupled with a great desire for learning and truth, made possible a synthesis that was distinctive and truly Islamic. The great majority of Christian thinkers first became acquainted with classical thought in this medieval synthesis, which not only provoked enthusiastic study of these Arabic writings and of Aristotle in particular, but also of the Fathers of the Church. To have done that for Christendom was no small contribution.

In the east there were three great thinkers whose works, translated into Latin, were of influence: one an Arab, al-Kindī (d.c. 874), the other two Persians, Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) and al-Ghazālī (d. 1111).[79]

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[76] As applied to Islam, see R. Levy, *Sociology of Islam* (London, 1938).

[77] Nathaniel Schmidt, *Ibn Khaldun, Historian, Sociologist and Philosopher* (New York, 1930).

[78] For an introduction to Indian elements in Islamic science and thought, see M. Meyerhof, *Islamic Culture*, xi, pp. 24-27.

[79] Not so well known in the west, but important in Islamic philosophic development was al-Fārābī, concerning whom his biographer, Ibn Khallikan, says: "No Moslem ever reached in the philosophical sciences the same rank as al-Fārābī; and it was by the study of his writings and by the imitation of his style that Ibn-Sīna attained proficiency and rendered his own work so useful" (quoted by Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 372). On this great philosopher, consult Ibrahim Madkour, *La place d'al-Fārābī dans l'école philosophique musulmane* (Paris, 1934).

"Quite the most important thing [al-Kindī] did was to lend his name and authority to the translation of a book which influenced the whole subsequent course of philosophy and theology in East and West until St. Thomas Aquinas, not without aid from Arabian sources, drove it from the field."[80] This was *The Theology of Aristotle,* so named in tribute to *the* philosopher in medieval Islam but actually a neo-Platonic treatise based on books iv-vi of the Enneads of Plotinus.[81] It represented al-Kindī's views and was very influential, for all that it made for confusion in subsequent thought. Very influential on the west were the philosophical writings of Ibn Sīna, "who placed the sum-total of Greek wisdom, codified by his own ingenuity, at the disposal of the educated Moslem world in an intelligible form."[82] Of these three the most influential, however, was al-Ghazālī, who was more a theologian than a philosopher. This sainted thinker and mystic has in Islam something of the place occupied in Christendom by St. Thomas, in whose *Summa Theologica* there are parallels to Ghazālī's arguments and conclusions regarding the place of reason as applied to revelation and theological dogmas. His polemic against the philosophers and the scholastics of Islam *(Tahāfut al-Falāsifah)* also influenced greatly the *Pugio Fidei* of Raymond Martin, a contemporary of Aquinas.[83]

It was the early eastern Mu'tazilite controversy in Islam over the relation of free will and the divine omnipotence which was the stimulus for the development of a scholastic philosophy,[84]—that harmony of reason and faith which came to maturity in Spain under the guidance of Ibn Masarra (d. 931), Ibn Rushd (d. 1198), and Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1240). Ibn Rushd was the great Averroes who, with Maimonides—judged by some to be more Muslim than Jew—was so influential in the development of Christian scholasticism, even in its formulation by the Angelic Doctor. Not that St. Thomas was directly dependent upon Muslim writings, for he cannot be made the servant of any school or century, but that his writings show their influence.

Many moderns may disdainfully question the contributions of Islam to Catholic scholasticism, but the atomistic character of our culture mirrored in the colossal civil wars of twentieth-century Christendom may give us some pause. Moreover, the needed regeneration of our culture may yet make us face anew the medieval question of

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[80] *The Legacy,* p. 252.

[81] See Franz Rosenthal, "On the Knowledge of Plato's Philosophy in the Islamic World," *Islamic Culture,* xiv, pp. 387-422 for a fine treatment of the influence of Plato on Islamic philosophic thought.

[82] Hitti, *op. cit.,* p. 372.

[83] *The Arab Heritage,* p. 156. The recent work of Asin Palacios, *Huellas del Islam* (Madrid, 1941), is important for Christian-Muslim theological relations, especially as regards Aquinas and Pascal. A. R. Nykl has contributed an extended review of it to *Isis,* xxxiii, pp. 539-544.

[84] Founded by al-Maturidi of Samarqand (d. 944) and al-Ash'ari of Baghdad (d. 932); the latter's basic work on the subject has been recently translated and published with introduction and notes by W. C. Klein, *Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī Ismā'īl al-Ash'arī's al-Ibānah 'an Uṣūl ad-Diyānah (The elucidation of Islam's foundation)* (New Haven, 1943).

whether philosophy or theology shall be our integrating mentor—"the queen of the sciences." The answer of medieval Islam, mediated to Christendom largely by the Jews, was essentially religious in nature, for all that it granted an honored function to the intellect in helping to formulate and test that answer.

The survey thus far should indicate clearly that Islam has made very substantial and invaluable cultural contributions to Christendom. These contributions, however, were made largely in the medieval period; for several centuries now the tide of learning and progress has been running from west to east and there are no signs of the reversal of the movement. Strong as that tide is, however, it would be surprising if an aggressive culture like that of Islam, embracing at least three hundred million souls, did not have some actual or potential contributions to make to an emerging world culture. In conclusion, therefore, we turn briefly to the positive and potential contribution of contemporary Islam to Christendom, making a few tentative suggestions and setting them against the historical background sketched above in order to provoke thought and discussion, particularly as they bear upon the work of the Christian Mission among Muslims.

The first point arises naturally from the last subject we noticed in the influence of medieval Islam upon Christendom—cultural unity. There is much discussion these days of Arab unity, which fact itself indicates a desire for something not possessed by this section of the Islamic world. Under the impact of western culture, particularly its nationalism and other secular forces, Islamic unity has been severely impaired. Yet amid the ethnic variety and mixture of the Islamic world is an ideal and a theology of unity in culture which Christendom might do well to value and emulate. In a world torn asunder by warring groups which acknowledge no transcendent Judge and Arbiter of human destiny, the conception of the essential unity of life as found in Islam at its best is surely a potential, if not actual, contribution to the spiritual needs of men today.

Another contribution, a corollary of this, is the achievement of Islam in racial tolerance. Christendom—at its best, scarcely at its worst in the Inquisition or "The Christian Front"—may be able to *teach* Islam something of the limitless frontiers of fellowship and brotherhood as embodied in New Testament principles, but within the limits of the Muslim brotherhood Islam can *show* Christendom some real actual achievement in racial tolerance. When an American shamefully admitted to an illiterate Iranian that the magazine picture of a southern lynching was indeed authentic, he like a good Muslim raised his hands to heaven and exclaimed, "Thank Allah! I live in a civilized land."

Still a further contribution of Islam is a real spirit of democracy, in a world that surely needs to implement its fighting professions in this regard. To be sure, the democracy of Islam has its differences and deficiencies as compared to that of Christendom: little is known of what we regard as essential political democracy, and in Islamic society women have far from an equal share with men of the democratic rights and spirit enjoyed. Yet for all its faith in inspired political leadership and its deplorable masculine tyranny, Islam practices a certain spiritual democracy, however limited, which is very real. The western brand of democracy is too much akin to and judged by the classical Greek variety—which knew little of economic democracy in a slave state. Not so the Hebrew prophetic tradition which found fulfilment in the New Testament principles which we have lacked the courage to implement in our society. It is that same Semitic, nomadic, tribal tradition which Islam inherited and expressed in a different pattern, and to which it has remained fairly loyal through the centuries. May it not be that Islam—a non-sacerdotal, lay-faith in the unity of God and equality of man—has something to contribute to Christendom in stimulating the latter to realizing and articulating its own best spiritual heritage?

Again, have you ever considered what Islam—or rather Muslims—may give to us in the way of personality and character traits? Many a pushing, irascible, determined "Christian" of the west can learn much from a quiet, courteous, contented Muslim of the east. Not that these characteristics are found only in these cultures, but that they predominate as indicated. We damn them for their code of honesty, and fail to realize that we are just as reprehensible in their eyes for our ill-temper, anger, or loss of self-control. Our brusque, busy manners, which indicate slavery to a clock and efficiency, are not only boorish to them, but resented as an affront to the dignity of human personality. And who cannot learn of the Muslim in the gracious act of hospitality, repartee, and quiet social enjoyment? These are arts which in many of our communities are deteriorating rather than improving. How can one ever forget the spirit and dignity with which the simple necessities have been proferred in a black tent or a mud hut!

But we must conclude—with one more observation: the capacity of the Muslim to experiment with all the possible configurations in a given pattern, to make the most out of life's limitations. This is something to be seen in Islamic art which, compared to ours, has been limited and confined. Yet within the limitations which the Muslim inherited he was able to express his aesthetic aspirations in intricacy of design and richness of color. Even the ordinary man, for all his pitied poverty and illiteracy, is often able to extract a simple joy and con-

tentment in living within the cabined and confined framework of his life that puts to shame his more privileged and sophisticated counterpart in Christendom. You may counter that this is but an idealization or rationalization of Islamic Qismet—the curse of many a Muslim. Not quite. Granted the need for Islam to know a divine discontent that often dictates the smashing of tradition and the breaking of fettering limitations, yet that culture can teach us much in this topsy-turvy world of how to emulate the Apostle who said: "I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content."

These are only some of the things a Christian Mission to Islam must consider. The author knows only too well the other side of the ledger, especially today. But this historical review is presented to remind us of the great cultural debt that we owe to Islam, that once within this very millenium we of Christendom traveled to Islamic courts and teachers to learn much of the arts, sciences, and philosophy of human living—some of it our own classical heritage which Islam had held in trust as a faithful steward until Europe could once more appreciate and appropriate it. All this should temper the spirit with which we of Christendom, and especially of the Christian Church, turn to Islam bearing our cultural and spiritual gifts. Verily we go as equals paying an ancient debt; it will be no more than justice if we return in kind with interest, and truly Christian if we forget the terms of the bond and pay with love and gratitude.

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COMPARATIVE RELIGION IN THE AZHAR UNIVERSITY

A book has recently been published in Cairo in Arabic which consists of the substance of a series of lectures on Christianity which were delivered in the course on History of Religions in the Specialized Section on Preaching and Religious Instruction in the College of the Principles of Religion in the Azhar University, Cairo.[1] The book therefore represents studies in Comparative Religion as carried on in the highest Muslim University. It is of some interest then to know the degree of scholarly thoroughness and scholastic objectivity attained by this effort to introduce a thorough-going study of some other religion than Islam into this stronghold of orthodox Islam. A more general course in Comparative Religion covering Buddhism, Hinduism, etc., besides Christianity, is given to Azhar students in general, before they enter one of the schools of specialization. This course on Christianity represents the more advanced and more specialized course which is given to students who are specializing on the religious side, as preachers, teachers of religion, missionaries to other lands, etc. That any attention is being paid to religions other than Islam, is in itself a significant change from the strictly orthodox and Koran-centered studies of the former days and indicates some accommodation to the modernizing spirit. It would be a matter of much interest and indeed of gratification to Christians to believe that the tenets of their religion are being taught fully and impartially to those who are in training to become the future leaders of the religious thought of Egypt and of other Islamic lands. What, then, is the character of this series of lectures on Christianity?

If the reader begins his reading, not with the Preface but with the Introduction, he will find his hope rising that here is

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[1] "A study of the stages through which the beliefs of the Christians have passed, and of their books, and their sacred councils, and their sects. Delivered by al-ustaz Muhammad Abu Zahirah, instructor in the 'Islamic Shari'ah' in the College of Law and in 'Religions & Sects,' in the Specialization Section in the College of Religious Principles of Al-Azhar. 1942 A.D./1361 A. H.—Al-'Ulum Press.—Sharia Al-Khalig, No. 163, Cairo.

a very exceptional book that is about to give an impartial and objective portrayal of the Christian religion to the future religious leaders of Islamic peoples, who will have an important influence in determining popular attitudes towards the Christian religion and Christian peoples. The author begins his Introduction (p. 5) by speaking of the great difficulty one experiences in trying to state a point of view different from one's own. Any one who has ever tried to do so will at once feel sympathy for the author. The author then proceeds: "The free and scientific scholar who wishes to make Christianity known as those who profess it think it to be must do so freed from former tendencies in his studies, not allowing his own beliefs to influence his judgment and determine the direction and trend of his studies, for this may lead him to additions or to interpretations which are not consistent with true scholarship. Therefore we shall try by the help of God to study Christianity impartially that we may portray it as it is and according to the belief of those who profess it."

All this makes a very good beginning. But that the author has written this because he feels it to be a fitting gesture on the part of one who is dealing with the field of Comparative Religion, and that he does not intend to be entirely bound throughout his work by such a tolerant and quixotic attitude, is suggested by the rather broad hint which is contained in the short paragraph which follows the quotation just given: He says: "With all our strict care to understand what Christians believe, we shall not leave out scientific criticism that derives its rules from the instincts of the mind and the laws of logic, otherwise our study will cease to be a scientific investigation and will become a purely theological discussion." The author thus gives warning that under the guise of "scientific criticism" he means to introduce the orthodox Muslim objections to Christianity, since to let the statement of the Christian religion as it is stand without comment would, in his view, not be "scientific" but would be merely "theological."

If the reader, however, has begun with the Preface he will have been prepared for such a retreat from the high

ground of impartial scholarship. For there the author says: "I have taken care to set it [Christianity] forth in its various stages, following in the exposition of modern Christianity its continuous chain of authorities. The beginning of the chain was the Council of Nicea, held in 325 A.D., and it ends in our present age. This is the beginning of the chain of authority and the end of it. The chain, therefore, is severed between Christ and the first of the sacred councils. And this severing during this long interval was caused by the persecutions which fell upon the Christians during this interval, so that they held their religion lightly, and worshipped in secret, and did not publish the religion which they had embraced; and fled incontinently if they were discovered, and might even pronounce the word of denial of their faith, thereby to escape the pain of the sword or of the fire. And their own apologists have acknowledged the severing of the chain of authority and have chosen this explanation as the cause of it."

"In the face of this lack, or the non-existence of the means of knowledge, we have begun our study of their religion with the books that were imposed on Christians by the decisions of the councils; then we have followed the history of the councils. . . .

"We have not been content with the decision of any one council but have studied the causes which led to the summoning of the councils and something of the differences in belief which preceded."

If one should take all the above at its face value, he would conclude that he is about to read a very scholarly and determinative work about the origins of Christianity; and he would feel, as no doubt he is intended to feel, that modern Christianity has little connection with the original Christianity of Christ and his Apostles. But in regard to what the author says, it is to be noted:

1. That in speaking of the "severing of the chain of authority" he is carrying over into Christian Church History a technical term used in the codification of Muslim Traditions which is regarded as important there but is not to be applied in the same manner to Christian history.

2. By beginning with the historic councils he altogether ignores the continuity of Christian history which lies at hand in (a) New Testament writings; (b) in writings of the Apostolic Fathers; (c) in writings of the Sub-Apostolic Fathers; (d) the early versions and translations of the New Testament; (e) in short, he has ignored the first three centuries of Church History.

3. He has exaggerated and stated unfairly the effect of persecutions and the conduct of Christians under persecution. He returns to this later, pages 25 to 29 of his book, and seems to consider this a very decisive influence in the corruption of the early sources as well as of Christian doctrine. Thus he says, p. 25: "In the midst of these persecutions they mention that their four Gospels in which they believe were written down!!" (two exclamation points, as though it were incredible that any book that could be believed could be written in such circumstances.) Again, p. 29, he says: "If doubt and suspicion are aroused about what is written in the Christion books which have lost their authority (Arabic *'sanad,'* link, support) by reason of these persecutions and the fact that they were written in the darkness of secrecy, they would be aroused just where the occasions for these doubts exist and the witnesses for them are to be found."

4. The character of the book as a whole, as further reading shows, does not support the claims of exhaustive research which are advanced here; in fact, where he mentions his sources he has not returned to original sources at all but has depended on books that are not authorities in the full sense but only secondary sources, such as Bible hand-books, commentaries and the like, all in Arabic, which naturally limits his range of study very considerably: among the books which he mentions are "Murshid al-Talibin," Dr. Post's Bible Dictionary and Rev. Ibrahim Said's "Commentary on the Gospel of Luke." He also makes use of the history of Ibn Batriq. (Eutychius of Alexandria, Melchite Patriarch of Alexandria, 933-940 A.D.)

He places special dependence on Ibn Hazm, the Spanish-Arab scholar of Cordova, of the tenth and eleventh centuries

A.D., and on "Izhar al-Haqq," an anti-Christian polemic of recent years by Rahmat Allah al-Hindi, a book which he says the Christians have never been able to reply to. Where he appeals to other than Arabic works, he seems to avail himself of the help of translators, as in the case of a quotation from Professor Leon Gauthier on Neo-Platonism, which he says was translated for him by a friend; also in the case of an article on "John's Gospel" in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, which, in the use which he makes of it, seems to have been translated. Thus one concludes that he knows only Arabic. To the ordinary reader, especially a Muslim, the deficiency of reliable sources would be disguised by the author's high-sounding appeals to "original sources" and "impartial scholarship" and the "judgment of history," expressions which are plentifully scattered throughout the book.

The true intent and attitude of the author appear when he begins his study by a section on "Christianity as Revealed by Jesus." He says: "Before beginning the study of Christianity as it is in the thought of Christians we must speak about Christianity as Jesus revealed it. But here we get no help from history because of the distance in time and the confusing versions given by history and all that has happened to Christians and the influence of forgetfulness and denials, so that truth has become confused with falsehood and it has become difficult to distinguish between what is true and what is not true. We Muslims do not know any genuine source worthy of being depended on by Muslims except the Koran and the prophetic tradition, for they are the two sources which to the Muslim are to be depended on." He writes this, he says, not because these are acceptable sources to Christians, but in order that he may be able to carry on his study, that is, in the absence of reliable Christian sources he has to fall back on Muslim sources. But one is constrained to ask, why speak of sources "to be depended on by Muslims," if he is approaching the subject not as a Muslim but as a scholar? If he is really trying to "study Christianity stripped of himself, looking at it without partiality" (p. 6), why begin by taking the position of a Muslim who can only accept a Mus-

lim source for the Christian religion? He says that the reason for falling back on Muslim sources is the lack of reliable Christian sources. This is a very remarkable statement to proceed from one who claims to be an impartial scholar. Any one who knows anything about the history of Christianity is at once placed in an unpleasant dilemma in regard to the author. For if he accepts the author's statement that he desires and intends to be impartial he must then doubt his capacity as a scholar and the extent of his investigations. The fact of the case probably is that the author could not help himself, even if he were as impartial as he claims to be; for since the lectures were intended for students of Al-Azhar University especially of the section of specialization in religious instruction *(da'wah wa irshād),* they had to present an orthodox Muslim view of Christianity to be acceptable. It is possible indeed to entertain some sympathy for the Azharite professor required to prepare a series of lectures on Christianity for his classes and doing the best he can in preparation with the source books available in Arabic which is the only language with which he is familiar. But the wonder remains that the Administrative Council of al-Azhar should allow the lectures to appear in print, presumably with the *imprimatur* of the Azhar University, at least with the explanation that they were delivered in the University. Presumably therefore they may be taken as representing the scholastic standards of the Azhar University and the general attitude towards open-mindedness and tolerance encouraged by that ancient institution.

The author's methods may be illustrated by the way in which he recounts the story of Christ's life. First he gives, pages 8 to 20, the story of Christ as recorded in the Koran; then he describes the divisions of the Jews and how the Jews used political charges to secure Christ's arrest; here he depends on historical accounts of the period; then he returns to the Koran to show that Jesus was not crucified; next he quotes from the Gospels some facts about Judas Iscariot to show that he was the one to betray Jesus; finally, he falls back on the so-called Gospel of Barnabas to confirm and supple-

ment the account of the Koran that Jesus was delivered from the Jews by the four archangels who carried him up to the third heaven. It is noteworthy throughout this passage that the author manipulates his sources to establish a point of view already determined. In regard to the crucifixion he asserts that the accounts of the canonical Gospels differ greatly one from the other and cannot therefore be accepted. As for what happened to Jesus after the crucifixion, Muslim scholars have differed, he says. His conclusion is: "We have no sources that we can depend on, so let us leave the matter and be satisfied with the settled belief that Jesus was not crucified but the matter was confused for them" (p. 21).

It is one of the main theses of the author that before the Council of Nicea the majority of Christians were unitarians and that it was that Council that established the divinity of Christ and decreed the doctrine of the Trinity, although a large number of the members of the Council did not approve of the doctrine. A parallel thesis which he develops is that Nicea took over belief in the Trinity from Neo-Platonism. To this end he gives a summary of the teaching of Plotinus about the three-fold origin of existence, the First Cause, Intelligence, Spirit, and maintains that since Plotinus preceded Nicea, the Council must have borrowed from Plotinus and not Plotinus from Christian doctrine. He supports this by a quotation translated from Leon Gauthier's "Introduction to Islamic Philosophy."

The author then proceeds to discuss the Four Gospels first collectively and then each one separately, finding the usual objections about authorship, date and differences in statements. He advances the opinion of some historians that there is no reference to the Four Gospels before Irenaeus in 209 A.D. (Irenaeus 11-200 A.D.). There were other Gospels in circulation, he says, and he expresses regret that these extra-canonical Gospels have not been preserved, because they were written so near to the time of Christ and would therefore show what the people of that time believed about Christ. "We should like to have had the Church say what it has found objectionable in them, and why Christians rejected

them, so that this would show that they had perpetuated the real religion of Christ and had not changed it. But history has been niggardly and has concealed these Gospels. And the Church has been niggardly and has concealed its proofs: and we can only be satisfied with studying what we have. But perhaps this will be sufficient if we study carefully and give full place to ingenuity" (pp. 37, 38).

He discusses the Gospel of John at some length, pp. 46-52, depending on the article on the subject in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, date and edition not mentioned, to show that the Gospel was written by John of Ephesus and not John the Apostle. He considers this article very conclusive because after mentioning the article from which he is about to quote, he says: "in which five hundred Christian scholars participated" and then concludes: "This is the saying of the scholars among their writers and there is no doubt that the intolerant will consider this heresy." Thus the author would give the impression that the authority of the five hundred Christian scholars who compiled the encyclopaedia—he can scarcely mean that they wrote the article—lies behind this opinion concerning the Gospel of John. He draws two conclusions from his study of the Gospels: "(1) There is nothing in the first three Gospels—or was not at least up to the writing of the Fourth Gospel—to suggest the divinity of Christ. Therefore, this fact should be noted, namely, that the Christian Gospels continued for about a century without any text referring to the divinity of Christ. (2) that the Bishops embraced the doctrine of the divinity of Christ before there existed the Gospel which proves it and when they wanted to argue with their opponents and ward off their heresy, as they claimed, they found it indispensable to have at hand some convincing proof that would establish their belief and so they appealed to John who wrote, as they claim, his Gospel which contains the proof of their belief. This proves that belief in the divinity of Christ was previous to any text on it in the books; otherwise they would not have been compelled to seek for a new Gospel and when they did not find it, ask John to write it" (p. 51). But the author himself on the next page contradicts this fine

theory by pointing out that the epistles of the New Testament, which, as he says, were written before this Gospel, contain references to the divinity of Christ and explanations of it.

The author finds difficulty in distinguishing between "the Gospels" and "the Gospel." Thus he says (pp. 52, 53): These Gospels—that is, the four Gospels—were not "sent down" to Jesus; what then was the "Gospel of Jesus?" There are references in the Gospels to the "Gospel of the Kingdom" which Jesus preached. Paul in the first chapter of Romans refers to the "Gospel of the Son of God." "It is plain," the author says, "that the Gospel of the Kingdom, etc., cannot be any one of the four Gospels, because it is not attributed to any one of these four writers, and because Jesus preached this Gospel; it could not be that one of these Gospels existed in his time and it is not reasonable that Jesus would preach the sayings of his disciples since they were still in the stage of discipleship." "This Gospel is also called in Romans I the 'Gospel of the Son of God,' and not one of the four Gospels deserves to be called by this name."

This consideration suggests to the author the question of an original lost Gospel which can be considered the origin of Christianity. Thereupon he returns to that hoary resource of Muslim apologists, the so-called Gospel of Barnabas. He accepts it as the original Gospel with as much zest and confidence as if it had not been proved by competent scholarship without question to be a forgery and he devotes a greater part of his book, pages 54 to 65, to his account of it than he gives to any other one topic.

The next topic discussed is the various other books of the New Testament, pages 65 to 88. The claim of inspiration for the Book of Acts is denied because Luke's connection with Jesus was not direct, Luke was not inspired, and the claim of inspiration is not upheld by the agreement of Christians. The Apostles, it is asserted, were unknown men. The Apostle Paul is roundly declared to be a liar because he claimed to be both a Jew and a Roman citizen at one and the same time. The contradictions which occur in the books of the New

Testament render the claim of inspiration invalid. A reply is given to Rev. Ibraham Said's comparison in his "Commentary on Luke's Gospel" (Arabic, published by the Nile Mission Press) between the Muslim Traditions and the Gospel of Luke and between Muslim ideas of inspiration and Christian ideas, pages 89-96. A section follows on "Christianity as derived from the books of the Christians" pp. 96-104; on the "Trinity," on "Crucifixion and Redemption" pp. 104-107; "Jesus as Judge," pp. 107-108; "Considering the Cross holy," pp. 108-109. In discussing the Three Persons of the Trinity the author uses for "Person" the Arabic word *"shakhs"* which means a person with corporeal embodiment, an individual. This, of course, gives an unfortunate meaning to the Trinity, and shows that the author is unfamiliar with or has disregarded the theological terms used by Christians.

The rest of the book consists of the following sections: "Worship," pp. 110-112, "Rites of Christianity," pp. 112-118, "the Christian Councils," pp. 118-145, "Christian Sects," pp. 145-188. These later sections of the book are here passed over without comment because the spirit and method of the book are sufficiently demonstrated in the earlier sections.

It is fortunate that a competent and indeed very able reply to this book from the Christian point of view has quickly been forthcoming. In the weekly magazine called "al-Manārah al-Miṣriyyah" ("The Egyptian Beacon-light"), published by the liberal Coptic priest Al-Qummus Sargius of Cairo, a series of brief articles in reply to the book began to appear in the issue of June 19, 1942, that is, shortly after the appearance of the book. Up to July 3, 1943, forty-four articles have appeared. The author signs himself "Philochristus," but he is understood to be a young Coptic lawyer who has studied extensively in the field of early Christian History. The preceding summary of the Muslim book may be complemented by a brief account of the Christian reply to it.

The first article mentions eight statements made by the Muslim writer which cannot be allowed to pass without

criticism and answer. What these statements are may be gathered from the preceding summary. The writer will base his replies, he says, not on orthodox Christian sources but on statements of scholars of atheistic or neutral tendencies. He begins by pointing out that the development of Christian doctrine is a special study by itself, and is divided into fields or departments, each one of which is studied by itself, just as Church History is studied in its own right. Thus there are Patrology, Talmudism, the language of the New Testament, history and criticism of New Testament books, New Testament Interpretation, etc. Each field has its specialists, whether conservative or liberal.

Thus it is difficult for any one to claim satisfactory knowledge in any of these subjects unless he knows at least one European language, such as English, French or German. An illustration is taken from the European Orientalists who wrote the Leyden "Encyclopaedia of Islam" which is now being translated into Arabic. These scholars know Arabic, besides Syriac and Hebrew, and some know as many as fifteen different languages, and are besides familiar with all the details of Arabic writings, ancient and modern, that have any bearing on the subject. He supposes that the author of this Muslim book has not spent as much time studying Christianity as these scholars have spent in studying Islam. He has not studied the books of the Church Fathers nor does he refer to the book of any authoritative Christian author of the West of modern times nor to any important Arabic books. It is evident that he has studied the subject from one point of view only.

The reply then meets the author of the book on his own ground by saying that since the author has claimed for himself the right of free and frank criticism of Christian doctrines by asserting that our holy books are corrupted and that Christian doctrines are derived from paganism and that the Apostle Paul is a liar, it is only right and just that we should claim the right to reply with the same freedom; not that we want to attack his doctrines but we only wish to set forth in their full strength the proofs on which our faith rests.

The second article is entitled "Darkness before the Council of Nicea." It begins: "The charge that the chain of authorities before 325 A.D. was broken means that there are no authorities or very weak ones for the development of Christian doctrine during the long period before the Council of Nicea. The one who makes such a statement does not know any more about the history of Christianity than he knows about the language of the inhabitants of Mars. Because the Christian books or the books about Christianity that were written before Nicea are numerous enough to make a load that would break one's back." The article then proceeds to mention by name the Apostolic Fathers, the sub-Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, the later Fathers like Tertullian and others, the Alexandrian Fathers; the symbols and signs in the Roman catacombs; the history of Eusebius written in the period of Nicea, which is a small library in itself; references in pagan writers; papyri and bits of pottery; architectural ruins and statues in Asia Minor and Egypt; the writings of heretics; Christian writings in Coptic, Syriac, Armenian; the writings of the Ante-Nicéne Fathers constituting a small library in themselves. What one scholar alone could study all these with exactness?

Add to this, the reply continues, the fact of the wide geographical distribution of these authorities during the latter half of the second Christian century. Thus Irenaeus wrote in Lyons in France, and Heracleion in Italy, and Tertullian in Carthage in North Africa, and Polycrates in Ephesus in Asia Minor, and Tatian in Syria and Rome, and Clement in Alexandria. All these, in spite of their wide differences in languages and locations, agree in accepting the four Gospels and the Christian doctrines, and in accepting the books of the New Testament as the source of these doctrines. How then can any one say, after all this, that the chain of authorities is broken?

The reply then goes on to show that the doctrine of the Trinity is above reason; and to show the real belief of Arius and Paul of Samosata with regard to Christ, both of whom the Muslim author had quoted as unitarians. Arius, the reply

says, believed in the divinity of Christ but denied his equality with the Father, and his belief would thus lead to belief in more than one God. Paul of Samosata likewise cannot be called a unitarian, because he did not deny the divinity of Christ but held that he was an ordinary human being whom God raised to the level of divinity because of his piety.

The third article, under the title "Christianity is the worship of Christ," deals with the charge that it was the council of Nicea that originated the doctrine of the divinity of Christ and thus laid the foundation for the doctrine of the Trinity. Such a charge, the reply states, "is a serious historical error which can easily be refuted by decisive proofs." The general thesis of the article is that from its beginning Christianity was recognized as the worship of Christ. In support of this thesis, the testimony of the enemies of Christianity is adduced, such as Pliny, Celsus, Lucian, Porphyry, "all of whom confirm the fact of Christian worship, whether through attack upon it, as Celsus, or through ridicule of it, as Lucian." Besides the general discussion of the thesis, the reply makes some direct corrections of points made by the book: as, for example, its quotation from Pliny's letter to Trajan to establish the fact of persecution of Christians, while overlooking the statement of Pliny that Christians were accustomed to assemble before sunrise for the worship of Christ in the belief that he was Lord; also the claim of the book that Nestorius rejected the divinity of Christ which is refuted by quotation of a relevant passage from Nestorius's letter to Celestine.

The fourth article deals with the question, "Have the sources of Christianity been corrupted?" On the question of the persecutions, of which the book had made so much, the reply points out that these persecutions were for the most part local and not general, intermittent and not continuous, while Christianity had spread practically to the confines of the then known world and its victorious progress could not be arrested by persecution. As for persecution leading to corruption of the sacred books, the opposite can be argued, the reply claims. "Our logic here is plain and understandable. For the fact that Christians willingly accepted death for the

sake of their religion could only mean that they believed that the books of their religion, which were the source of their faith, were the word of God and that their teachings would secure for them happiness in this life and the next and upon the correctness of what was contained in these books was based their hopes of eternal salvation. Is it reasonable after that to say that they would dare to introduce any changes or tamperings into the text of these books which they considered the revealed word of God?" The reply then outlines some of the essentially favorable results of more than one hundred years of critical study of the New Testament, both in the field of Higher Criticism and Textual criticism. To the New Testament writings are to be added the quotations to be found in the writings of the Christian Fathers, and then the early versions. "After all this," the reply concludes, "can we say that the copies of the New Testament that were corrupted in Egypt, and those that were corrupted in Anatolia, and in Rome, and in Antioch and in France, were all in agreement, each with the others? Or that all the manuscript copies and the versions, and the quotations from the text that are found in the books of the Fathers, would all be completely in agreement? If we should say that the Gospel has been corrupted, we should be obliged to believe that the Christians who lived in the uttermost parts of the earth met together in some special place and plotted together to accomplish the corruption of the texts of their sacred books and then destroyed all the ancient manuscripts." With fine scorn the article concludes: "Let any one who wishes believe such foolishness!"

The next article deals with "The Trinity and Neo-Platonism." It is followed by four additional articles on the general subject of the relation of Judaism and Christianity to Greek philosophy. Two articles deal with the Virgin Birth and belief in the divinity of Christ; another with the first mention of the canonical Gospels—not by Irenaeus in 209 A.D., as the book claims, but by Papias in 120 A.D., Justin Martyr in 150 A.D., the Diatesseron in 165 and the Muratorian Canon in 170; one article deals with the Synoptic Gospels; eight with John's Gospel with special reference to the

history of opposition to it; six with what the reply calls "The Greatest Joke—the Gospel of Barnabas"; the last nine discuss the Apostle Paul, his race and nationality, his characteristics, his conversion, his relation to Christian doctrine previous to his own writings, etc., and the series is to be continued.

Space does not permit any further details about this series of replies to the Azhar lectures; but enough has been given above to convey some idea of their general character. That the writer of the reply at times aims his remarks very directly and effectively at some of the claims and pretensions of the Muslim author has been indicated above; another instance or two may be given. Thus, one article is about "some other mistakes about the Council of Nicea." Again in an article about "The welcome which Christians give to the writings of the followers of other religions" (i.e., about Christianity) there is severe criticism of the author of the book for claiming to be familiar with the history of the early church and to be impartial, when he is neither. In other articles about Unitarians, ancient and modern, the reply corrects some of the author's statements about Renan, Harnack, etc., whom the author had claimed as opponents of orthodox Christianity.

Whether this reply will appear in more general and more permanent form, remains to be seen. If it should appear in book form, there would be hope that it could counteract some of the influence of the printed Azhar lectures. But there will still remain the fact that the Azhar specialized students are being sent out with the firm belief that the time-worn Muslim objections to Christianity represent its true and unchangeable form.

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ARABIC AND ISLAMIC HISTORIOGRAPHY*

Arabic historiography is the product of a long development. It has slowly grown to a science of monumental proportions, of an importance hardly to be underestimated by any one who has even the slightest acquaintance with its scope. The roots of this science go much deeper than the records, that is, the historical books which have come to us, would, at first glance, show.

The earliest Arabic society of which we have knowledge was that of the Nomads and Bedouins who were organized in tribes. In spite of the fact that this society could not be considered a commonwealth or possessed of a body politic—nor did the Arabs ever put forward such a claim—these tribes were aware of their historical connexion, of their past, their relationship with one another, and their descent from the common ancestor of their race. This historical sense found expression in their deep interest for the interrelation of the tribes which later developed into the science of genealogy; and the faithfulness with which the traditions about their ancestors and the members of their families and tribes were preserved shows how keen this sense was. These tribal traditions were passed on orally from generation to generation and were, in this manner, preserved for many centuries. They were written down only at a very late date and are the main source for our knowledge of pre-Islamic Arabic history.

However, it was not the historian to whom we owe the first records of the events of the Arabic past. It was not dry science or scientific curiosity, "research", which prompted the Arab to talk of them. It was the imagination of the poet who, fired and inspired by the valiant deeds of his tribe in the past, swelled with pride at the thought of the exploits of his ancestors or relatives, gave expression to these feelings in his poetry. Thus ancient Arabic poetry may probably be regarded as the first attempt at preserving the memory of past events.

However, the poet did not consciously set out to do that; he did not write *history*. His only aim was to produce a *poem* which he committed to the memory of a friend—frequently a poet in his own right—who recited it at one of the fairs of the Arabs where "all Arabia" assembled. These poems were not chronicles telling the events in full detail with cause and effect neatly recorded and analyzed: the poet was satisfied with hints and allusions, for he might safely presume that his audience was well informed and understood him. Only when dealing with topics of his own time did the poet give a more detailed account—

* Paper read at the New York Oriental Club as part of a Forum on: Problems of Oriental Historiography.

be it that he had a fuller knowledge of contemporary affairs or that he wanted to take an active part in the discussions of his time. For frequently the poet was, at the same time, the leader of his tribe, considered as inspired in almost the same way as was the *kāhin* (the soothsayer) and listened to with great deference.

Next in importance and of equal antiquity are the records preserved in the so-called *aiyām al-'arab*. This term, literally "days of the Arabs", is used for the tales which the Arabs told of their wars and raids in pre-Islamic times. The endless intertribal warfare, the blood-feuds, often protracted into decades, and the raids upon hostile tribes for the sake of booty, formed the material for these *aiyām* tales. Just as ancient Arabic poetry was not committed to writing until Islamic times, these *aiyām* tales were passed on from mouth to mouth and became the cultural heritage of the tribes and part of their tribal traditions. Gertrude Bell tells us that this kind of story telling was still alive at the time of her travels.

These traditions were collected and written down by Muslim scholars who lived in the second century of the *Hijra*. They became interested in these stories for two reasons—one being scholarly, the other polemical. Their research into the early history of Islām, the personality of the Prophet, and the Qur'ān aroused their interest in Arabic semantics and philology. This caused them to collect and to write down the *dīwāns* of the pre-Islamic poets, which they edited and upon which they wrote commentaries. Besides commenting on expressions occurring in the odes and explaining their grammatical difficulties or peculiarities, it was necessary to dwell upon their contents. The many allusions to events of the Arabic past were no longer generally and easily understood. These scholars, therefore, collected the *aiyām* stories and published them as part of their commentaries on the *dīwāns* of the Arabic poets. Thus it happened that the *aiyām al-'arab* have come to us and that they are found mostly in the commentaries to ancient Arabic poetry. It may be mentioned in passing that frequently there is a discrepancy between the version given of an event by the poet and that related in the *aiyām* tale. The scholar had, however, an additional incitement to doing this work. Not a few of the Islamic scholars of that period belonged to the class of *mawālī*, that is, they were freed men and frequently not of Arabic blood. Many of them belonged to nations newly converted to Islām who were considered inferior by the Arabs *pure-sang*. In these *aiyām al-'arab* they found numerous episodes which did not reflect favorably upon certain Arabic personalities or tribes of the *Jāhilīya*. They used these accounts in their polemics against the proud full-blooded Arabs and against their claims to superiority. In spite of this undercurrent the scholars of the *Shu'ūbīya*, as this movement was called, rendered a

noteworthy service to Arabic literature by preserving its most precious products.

The events related in the *aiyām* literature are nearly always the same as those to which the poets refer in their odes. However, whereas the poet only hints at the happenings, the narrator of the *aiyām* tale means to tell the story in full. He tries to set it before his hearer in its chronological order; he explains the reasons for the "battles" and he attempts even to judge impartially the respective merits of the contesting parties. By and by, in the gradual development of the *aiyām al-'arab* from actual reports to their crystallization into a literary form, a certain style developed to which the narrator had to conform. This style is the subject of an excellent study on the *aiyām al-'arab* by Werner Caskel. It was of the utmost importance for the development of the style of historiography in Islamic times. For the *maghāzī*, the wars and raids of the Prophet, were told in exactly the same style and in conformity with its rules. Thus there was no break in the tradition of history telling when Islām changed the religious aspects of the Arabic world. Muḥammad himself, although he dissociated himself from many an old conception, was conscious of the unbreakable link with the past. The Prophet's attempt to link his new religion with the Patriarch Abraham through Ismā'īl, the acknowledged ancestor of the Arabs, shows his deep consciousness of historical continuity in spite of change.

Muḥammad's manner of waging war—with the one exception of the so-called Battle of the Ditch—did not differ essentially from Bedouin warfare in pre-Islamic times. It was still characterized mainly by raids and skirmishes in which the courage of the individual was still of the utmost importance. It was, therefore, easy to speak of these raids in the same manner as did the Bedouin of pre-Islamic days. The only distinction—apart from the term *maghāzī* (raids) which came to mean raids of the Prophet *par excellence*—was that the *maghāzī* were undertaken *ad maiorem Dei gloriam, fī sabīl Allāh* "for the sake of Allāh".

With the rise of the Prophet, and especially after his death, and with the ascendancy of Islām to undisputed hegemony, Muḥammad's personality and the events connected with the birth of Islām became the centre of interest. At a comparatively early time the need was felt for collecting every bit of information about the Prophet who by that time had risen in the minds of his followers to the heights of *an-Nabī, the* Prophet, and about whose life they wanted to be informed to the last detail. From this epoch dates the systematic research into the history of Islām.

Although the earliest extant biography of the Prophet, the *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāq was written in the earlier decades of the second century of

the *Hijra* (Ibn Isḥāq died ca. 150 H.—the dates given vary—) there were earlier biographers whose works are not preserved. In his *Life of the Prophet* Ibn Isḥāq tries to bring out the personality of the Prophet in all its aspects. He starts with a history of Arabia, South Arabia as well as North Arabia, but tells the former only in so far as it is related to the history of Mekka, Muḥammad's birth place. He also gives a history of Muḥammad's tribe, the Quraish, and of Mekka, always remembering to emphasize its relation to Muḥammad. In spite of this new accent, however, much of his literary form is still very close to the *aiyām* style, especially in those parts which deal with pre-Islamic events and those which record the Prophet's battles. Even the most characteristic feature of the *aiyām* tale is still preserved, namely, that the chronicler gives equal emphasis to the point of view of either side. The adversaries of the Prophet are quoted, their satirical poems against Muḥammad and his followers recorded, and lists of those who took part or were killed in the battles against the Prophet on the side of the Meccans are accorded as much space as is given to the Muslim side. In this way much historical material of the highest value has been preserved and the modern historian is able to weigh Muḥammad's case impartially.

In spite of all these similarities a definite change had taken place. Historiography now had acquired a centre of gravity in the person of the Prophet and in the attempt at a historical evaluation of the new religion of Islām. The *aiyām* tales lack such a central figure or even a central point of view, even though some of them deal with some influential personality or an outstanding tribe. The young hero Bisṭām b. Qais should be mentioned in this connexion, who, in spite of his youth and his early death, had made a name for himself; or such tribes as the B. Tamīm, about which there are so many tales that we may speak of a B. Tamīm cycle of *aiyām* tales. But none of these had the power to rally the whole Arabic world in a huge religious and political upsurge as Muḥammad did with his teaching.

Under the impact of this new movement two strata of historical research developed. The first group is biographical, comprising the *Sīra* literature and the one dealing with the leading personalities of Islām; the second treats of its chronology and political history. We may add a third group which also has some elements of real historical research in it, though it received its main impetus from religious sources. It is the so-called *Ḥadīth* literature, the collections of traditions about the Prophet's habits, sayings, and doings, his likes and dislikes, his recommendations and his prohibitions. Although there is a tremendous amount of raw material of historical impact hidden in the *Ḥadīth* works, they are not historical writing in the proper sense and must be left out in our present study.

We have already discussed the *Sīra* literature, represented by Ibn Isḥāq's work bearing that name. The most important collection of the biographical material available of the Prophet's Companions is the *Book of Classes (kitāb aṭ-Ṭabaqāt)* by Ibn Sa'd (d. 230 H.). As the title implies, this work deals with the various groups of Muḥammad's Companions and with the following generations of Muslim traditionaries; he even devotes one volume of his work to the women of Muḥammad's entourage and their biographies. Al-Wāqidī's (b. 130 H.) *kitāb al-Maghāzī,* al-Balādhurī's (d. 279 H.) *kitāb Ansāb al-Ashrāf,* the same author's *kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān* and the *Annals* of aṭ-Ṭabarī (d. 309 H.) are outstanding examples of the second group. The character of the *maghāzī*-literature has already been described. Al-Balādhurī's monumental work—the *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* "Genealogies of the Noblemen"—represents a very interesting intermediate stage in the development of Arabic historiography. It is based on the ancient conception that the tribal unit is the backbone of Arabian society. Therefore, Islamic history is, in this work, conceived as history of the noble families and their members. The result is that the book is neither arranged chronologically, nor does it present historical events in a unit and in sequence; it rather tells them in connexion with the biographies of the principal actors, and since these belong to different families, they are treated in different parts of the work. This shows how strong the ancient tradition of historiography, hailing from the *aiyām al-'arab,* still was. Nonetheless, al-Balādhurī's work is of the utmost importance for us.

Aṭ-Ṭabarī's work is constructed on an entirely different principle. His work shows a definite departure from the ancient form, although in details of style ancient influences are still alive, especially in those parts of the work which deal with pre-Islamic history and the beginning of Islām. The author aims at no less than a history of the world in chronological sequence, and the first two volumes of the modern European edition of this work (editor M. J. De Goeje, Leiden, 1879-98) treat of the Oriental world from the Creation to Muḥammad's times. After that the work is a year-by-year chronicle of Islamic history up to aṭ-Ṭabarī's own time (to 302 H.). His work is our most important source book, for he records minutely every detail and divergent reports of the same event. Aṭ-Ṭabarī, like a large number of the Muslim scholars, was of Persian descent, as shown by his name, which is derived from his birthplace Ṭabaristān; it is, therefore, not improbable that he modeled his work after the pattern of some middle Persian royal history, such as the Pehlevī *Khudanāma,* which was translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa' in the 8th century A.D.

In the Arabic set-up, aṭ-Ṭabarī represents a new type, namely, that of the impartial historian. He is not a partisan of any political

or religious group; his aim is that of the scholar who wishes to record the events as they happened. He had no axe to grind: neither that of the *Shu'ūbīya,* nor that of the followers of 'Alī, the Shi'ites. His work, from the point of view of modern historiography, is somewhat lacking in comprehension; it more than compensates for this drawback by the completeness of his records which are of immeasurable value for us. Later Arabic historians, in their writings, synchronized and systematized, and tried to smoothe out discrepancies. They did so at the expense of historicity. To mention only one important point: The traditions on which the Islamic writers based their works had to be supported by a chain of trustworthy traditionaries, the so-called *Isnād.* This *Isnād,* even though the modern scholar cannot rely on it as evidence for the correctness of the statement supported by it, as did the Islamic scholar of former times, nonetheless may be used cautiously as a criterion for the trustworthiness and reliability of the records. Later writers either disregarded the *Isnād* and amalgamated stories of different provenance, thereby obliterating this criterion, or, what is worse, they invented highsounding *Isnāds* in support of their standpoint in controversial issues. In this connexion we may mention that by some historians history was made an *ancilla theologiae.* The party of 'Alī (the Shi'ites) produced their own historians and their own histories in which the main accent was laid on the family of 'Alī and their exploits and fates. Some authors went so far as to distort and falsify the records in their zeal to make 'Alī's light shine brightly. An early example of Shi'ite historical writing is the work of al-Ya'qūbī, who flourished ca. 278 H.

These authors, and a few others, such as Ibn Qutaiba (213-276 H.), set the pattern for historical writing for centuries to come. Most Arabic works are not strictly historical; they include legends and genealogy, anecdotes and religious subjects, folklore and *belles lettres.* Mas'ūdī's (d. 345 or 346 H.) *Murūj adh-Dhahab* "the Golden Meadows" is the best example of this kind of history. Later writers imitated the style of their predecessors and used their works as source books, copying and sometimes plagiarizing them. Even in far-away Spain their influence was felt. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī (246-328 H.) emulated, and to a large extent exploited, Ibn Qutaiba's *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* in his *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*—neither work is strictly speaking history, but belongs to the class called *Adab* literature which among many other things also deals with history as part of its educational purpose.

Only at a much later age, in the fourteenth century A.D. arose a new conception of history and of the task of historical writing. The North African writer Ibn Khaldūn (732-808 H.) was the first historian not only amongst the Muslims but in the Western world to have a philosophical and, as we would call it today, a sociological

conception of history. He sets forth his ideas in his *Muqaddima,* the Introduction to a vast historical work whose greatest importance apart from the *Muqaddima* lies in the fact that it contains the only early history in existence of the Berbers. For Ibn Khaldūn history is not static but dynamic, an evolutionary process resulting from two main sociological groups: the nomad and the sedentary citizen. The former represents, in Ibn Khaldūn's view, all the virtues of strength and vitality, of moral and religious superiority, whereas the latter represents decline and decadence, physical and moral. Therefore, the two highest virtues, which are at the same time decisive factors in shaping the history of a group, are found only with the Nomads: *esprit de corps* and religion—*'aṣabīya* and *dīn.* From this central idea Ibn Khaldūn views not only Islamic history, but the historical process generally.

Ibn Khaldūn, as far as we can see, had no predecessor whose works would indicate a gradual process of development towards such a comprehensive and philosophical historical conception. His *Muqaddima* stands unique as the climax of Islamic historical writing. Even his own work, to which he wrote this Introduction, does not live up to the high tenets of the introductory volume: it is just one more historiographical work in the Arabic language. In modern times he has been made the subject of several studies which, however, have not exhausted the many problems he poses. In the Muslim world Ibn Khaldūn found neither successors nor imitators; as Professor Nicholson expresses it: "He stood far above his age and his own countrymen have admired rather than followed him. His intellectual descendants are the great medieval and modern historians, Machiavelli and Vico and Gibbon."

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MOHAMMEDANISM IN NIGERIA

The visit of the Elliott Commission to West Africa early this year created a mild sensation in that part of the world. The fact that it was headed by Colonel Walter Elliott and made up of highly-placed persons like Professor Julian Huxley and Dr. Margaret Reid added greatly to its prestige. It is peculiarly significant that a group of such important persons fared forth at so critical a period in the history of the world. There are two grounds of explanation. One is that our British friends are sensitive to the shafts of criticism which are being aimed at them from the United States, India, West Africa, and from almost every other quarter of the globe. The other explanation is that there is a sincere desire on the part of an influential group in Great Britain to share with the underprivileged peoples of their empire the benefits of civilization.

In his article on West Africa in the current issue of the *Yale Review,* Dr. Huxley makes a partial report of the findings of the Elliott Commission. He presents a clear picture of conditions and of the problems arising from them. He expresses in the following words his opinion regarding the importance of an understanding on the part of the United States of Britain's colonial problems: "It is important for the future peace of the world and for the settlement of the disputes over 'imperialism' that the United States should have first-hand knowledge of major colonial problems, and should be actively concerned in their solution."

The distinguished Britisher is burdened with the backwardness of the peoples of West Africa. As a means of overcoming this major handicap, he recommends "more and better education . . . at all levels."

For the backwardness in a large section of Nigeria, Mohammedanism is evidently blamed. Concerning it, Dr. Huxley writes: "In northern Nigeria there are powerful emirates, still with the flavor of the Arabian Nights about them. Islam

is preponderant in all this region, and has produced a crust of custom and belief which modern ideas are only just beginning to penetrate. In the midst of this relatively high culture are large pockets of pagans, still, for the most part, living a stone-age existence." That brings us to the heart of this paper.

When it was that Mohammedanism entered the territory now known as Nigeria, no one seems to know. It is supposed that the religion of the Prophet made its first invasion during the thirteenth century and the evidence is that it progressed rapidly. At any rate, it had a profound influence upon every phase of the life of the principal people of northern Nigeria, the Hausas. "A form of government grew up based on the doctrines of Islam, with a well-organized fiscal system and a highly trained and learned judiciary, administering Mohammedan law with ability and integrity. Each state was ruled over by its king, assisted by the usual ministers of oriental governments, but we have little information of the actual rulers and their doings."[1]

There seems to be no doubt that the Moslem rulers at first took their tasks seriously. Gradually, however, the record indicates, corruption crept in and the administration of justice deteriorated. The emirs changed their practice of following the austere habits of their forefathers and adopted the more pretentious ways of the pagan chiefs whom they succeeded. To carry out their desires to possess slaves, they oppressed and destroyed their subjects. They went so far in their haughtiness, avarice, and effeminacy that their pagan subjects threw off their yoke of authority.

It was upon the scene of a diminished kingdom from which glory had fled that the British appeared in the nineteenth century.[2] The newcomers found a framework on which they could build. The courts were supposed to have been free from any entanglement with the executive. The judges were the interpreters and administrators of Mohammedan law, which includes rules of conduct affecting both

[1] *History of Nigeria*, Burns, p. 50.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 55.

religion and social or civil life. The law of earthly rulers was recognized and respected only when it did not conflict with the law of Allah as interpreted by the Prophet.[3]

A large contribution to the favored position of the Moslem in northern Nigeria is the attitude of the colonial government. When the British were establishing themselves as a political force in the country, they doubtless gave little thought to the principle of religious liberty. At any rate, they pledged themselves to the proposition that the existing legal structure and religious system of the Moslems would not be interfered with. To many this was and is a source of deep regret. It has appeared to missionaries that the British Government went too far in the beginning and has bent over backwards since in an effort to curry favor with Islam. Because Christian missionaries have been restricted in their activities in Moslem areas, their prestige has been lowered and they have been denied many opportunities to bear the good news for which task they were commissioned.

That leads to the question of need. One does not like to appear unkind, even when a religion which debases is being considered. It might be well, therefore, to let a high government official speak concerning a well-known social aspect of Islam: "The rich Fulani possess large *harems*. Each Mohammedan is allowed four wives, who must be free women, and whose rights are strictly regulated by law, and a number of slave concubines, limited only by the length of his purse. Now that the legal status of slavery has been abolished and the number of slaves is decreasing every year, it will be necessary for the rich Mohammedans to discover some legal or religious quibble if they are to satisfy both their desires and their consciences."[4]

In the light of this condition, it is not surprising that Moslem prejudice against the education of women was difficult to overcome.[5] Indeed it is doubtful that the prejudice has been overcome even to this hour. The followers of the Prophet are astute enough to be convinced that an educated

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[3] *Ibid*, p. 57.
[4] *History of Nigeria*, Burns, p. 58.
[5] *An African Survey*, Lord Hailey, p. 1256.

womanhood would interfere seriously with their fleshly desires.

Despite all the difficulties involved in the Christian approach to the Moslem problem, progress is evident. Lord Hailey reports that there are in northern Nigeria five schools for girls, and that the number of pupils who attend them is increasing.[6]

The presence in northern Nigeria of a large number of Yorubas and other Christians from the south augurs well for the future. At a morning service in Jos, in March of last year, the writer preached to more than eight hundred persons. In Kano, Bida, Kaduna, Zungeru, and Zaria other hundreds came at almost all hours of the day to hear the visiting secretary. It is true that these audiences were made up of persons who had come from other sections of Nigeria, but their very presence and witness in the centers where Islam is potent should lead to desirable results. If the Yorubas, Ibos, and others who are in Mohammedan strongholds as traders and government employees could have rolled upon their hearts and consciences the burden of Mohammedanism, it is likely that a new day would dawn for both the Moslems and Christians of northern Nigeria.

One of the churches of Kaduna is making a special effort to minister to Moslems. A Hausa-speaking African gives his entire time to visitation and teaching, with encouraging results.

While Islam has made tremendous inroads in the pagan areas of southern Nigeria, the Christian cause there is more than holding its own. Indeed, it is winning Moslem converts. Not long ago a girl from a Mohammedan home became a Christian while a student in a girls' school. It was feared that her parents might not let her return after she broke to them the news of her conversion. However, they were so impressed with the transformation the Christian institution had wrought in her that they sent her sister with her when she returned.

In May of last year it was my good fortune to be invited to

[6] *Ibid.* Lord Hailey.

present the claims of Christianity to the students of one of the secondary schools of Lagos. The acting principal had reported that a number of Moslem boys were members of the upper classes.

"If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me" was the basis of the appeal that was aimed directly at the lads who were steeped in Islamic lore. As clearly as he could the speaker outlined the difficulties and dangers involved in accepting and following Christ. He pointed out that the fathers of these young men might drive them from home or even disinherit them. Then, with all the power he could bring to bear, he pleaded the cause of the conquering Christ. To abbreviate a story that might take long in the telling, it may be stated that at the end of the brief series of services, fifty-two young Africans, forty-two of them either Moslems or from Mohammedan homes, declared their purpose to become followers of Christ.

No one is able properly to appraise an experience of this sort. It is certainly reasonable to hope that its influence will extend far beyond the borders of the homes from which these boys come and the school in which they are students. Indeed, it is likely that some of these converts will become flaming evangels of their new-found faith.

That this result could be achieved leads to the conviction that it can be repeated. Indeed, it can be repeated over and over until the kingdoms of Islam become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ—if our faith and works fail not.

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AN ARMENIAN ACCOUNT OF ISLAM AND THE ARAB CONQUESTS*

PART II

When Chosroes II Parwez the Sasanian laid down his arms, after his victories, instead of continuing with assaults and wars, he gave himself up to pleasure and an easy life. In his Dastakert he rejoiced greatly with his beloved women. *A Multis Scriptoribus laudata,* as Gellarius says, he received a letter from an unknown man in Mecca city, saying that he should accept Mohammed as the prophet of God. Chosroes was exasperated and destroyed the letter. When Mohammed heard this he cried, "Thus will God destroy the kingdom of Chosroes, and will ignore his supplications." Mohammed was near the border of the two kingdoms observing, as is seen in the thirtieth chapter of the Qur'ān, how the two [kingdoms] were at enmity with each other. Even at the time of the Persian victories he had predicted that after a few years the Greeks would emerge victorious.

When Heraclius returned victorious from the Persian War, he was greeted at Emesa, by the envoy of Mohammed, who called on all the kings and nations of the world to accept the law of Mohammed. When Heraclius gave an ambiguous answer the Arabs thought that he accepted the Mohammedan religion secretly. For this reason there was peace between them for a short time. Soon, because a Mohammedan messenger was killed, three thousand Arabs attacked Palestine from the east side of the Jordan river. The holy banner was given to Zaid. Two other men were appointed also to succeed Zaid in command if he should die. If it so happened that the latter two should fall, the army was charged to choose as commander anyone they desired. Sure enough, these three, one after the other, fell in battle. Khālid, who had newly accepted Mohammedanism, was chosen as commander. He, raising the banner, cried; "Come forward and do not be afraid; victory or paradise awaits us." After his victory over the Christians, Khālid received the appellation "sword of God." After the death of Mohammed, Khālid, in obedience to the command of Abu-Bakr, plundered the borders of the Persian kingdom, and with a few victories cleared a way into the regions of the Euphrates. For a short time he ceased attacking the Persians and returned to Syria, to lead the Arab army against the Greeks. In this famous battle at the Yarmuk river (in the year 634) he was successful in conquering and overthrowing the Greeks and in clearing the way for the Arabs into

* Part I. appeared in our January, 1945, issue.

Syria. During the rule of Omar, the Arabs won a great many victories. Abu-'Ubaida, their general, subdued Damascus, Homs, Baalbek, Tiberius, Antioch and Aleppo. Another Arab army under the leadership of Amr subdued Palestine. Jerusalem opened its doors before Omar.

At this time war was again waged against Yezdegerd the Sasanian king. Though at the beginning of the fight the Arabs were not successful, later they won a great victory at Qādisiyya (in the year 635 or 636). Then they crossed the river Euphrates and seized Ctesiphon, the capital of the Sasanians. They founded two new cities, Basra and Kūfa, to guard the country. Though Yezdegerd tried to resist the attack a few times, he failed. At the battle of Nehavend, being altogether defeated, he fled. The Arabs advanced to Ispahan, and destroyed whatsoever they captured. Then, in a short time they gradually subdued all the southern provinces of Persia. In North Persia they conquered as far as the coast of the Caspian Sea.[1]

At the time of Walid I the boundaries of the dominion of the caliphs were enlarged to their greatest extent. The eastern side extended as far as Kashgar and India. In the west the Arab armies conquered North Africa and crossed the strait to Spain—at a point which was named from this time on after their general [Gibraltar—Jebel Ṭariq] and subdued the peninsula as far as the Pyrenees. Though the Western Goths frequently attempted to slay them, they were vanquished in the bloody battle of the Guadelete in the year of our Lord 711. Thus a great part of Spain fell under the rule of the Arabs. They also wanted to conquer France, which they attacked a few times with numerous legions; but they could not achieve their purpose, because in 732 at the time of the caliph Hishām, Charles, surnamed the "Hammer" (Martel), gave them a severe blow near Tours. From that time on they ceased to invade Europe.

During the rule of Merwan II, the last caliph of the Omayyad house, quarrels and disorder arose in the empire, at the instigation of the family of the Abbasids, named from 'Abbās the uncle of Mohammed. These stirred up the people against the house of the Omayyads, saying that they had seized the throne of the caliphate by force. The leader of the dissenters was Mohammed ibn Ali, the great grandson of 'Abbās. When he learned that in all parts of the empire intrigues and disorders were rampant, he publicly revolted against Merwan. Many followed him, especially those in the provinces of Persia. The number of his adherents increased day by day. Abu Muslim, the co-adjutor of Mohammed, drove out the Minister of the Caliph from Khorasan and conquered Merv, which was the capital

[1] He then continues with a list of places taken and a chronological list of the Umayyad Caliphs, which does not differ from that in the usual books of history.

of Khorasan. Another division of the Abbasid army marched into Irak and conquered Kūfa and declared Abul 'Abbas ibn Mohammed Caliph. Near the river Zab, Merwan was conquered by the Abbasids; thus the rule of his family was finally jeopardized. Damascus, after being conquered, revolted against Merwan, who fled to Egypt and was killed there in the year 750. Of the house of the Omayyads, which the Abbasids determined to destroy altogether, Abdar-Rahman escaped among others. In 756 he went to Spain and founded an independent dynasty which was called caliphate of the Western Omayyads.

From Abul-'Abbas the caliphs of the Abbasid house began their rule.[2]

At the beginning of the rule of the Abbasids the seat of the empire was moved from city to city such as Merv, Anbar, and Hashemia and finally was established in Baghdad, which Abu-Ja'far el-Mansur built. Especially at the time of this Caliph the influence and the power of the Persians increased in the empire. They assisted the Abbasid family in attaining power; thus in the new dynasty they were regarded as benefactors. When Hārūn-el-Rashīd began to rule he conquered the Khazaks and the Byzantines and pacified the country. He began to make internal reforms in his empire, and became the guardian of trade and arts; he took his choice of the famous scholars of his time; encouraged the poets and the scientists and even inherited the name Benefactor of the East. In this manner his successors el-Amīn and el-Ma'mūn ruled. The latter was a devotee of Mazdeism. He appointed as his colleague and successor Ali the son of Mūsa from the family of Ali, in order that Alids should cease complaining. [The Alids] were always insisting that in religious matters they should have the supreme power. The adherents and kinsmen of Ma'mūn, becoming excited at this and revolting against him, placed a Caliph for themselves in Baghdad, Ibrahim the son of el-Mahdi. When Ma'mūn heard this from the city of Merv he hastened to Baghdad and by the help of his general Ṭāhir deposed Ibrahim. Soon Ali Ibn-Mūsa died. After Hārūn there was again a period of internal discord and war for power. The Persians adhered to Ma'mūn, and the Arabs to the followers of el-Amīn, who was defeated and fell in the battle. After Ma'mūn, his brother el-Mu'taṣim sat on the throne, who chose his chief bodyguards from the liberated Turkish slaves, who in turn greatly endangered the empire.

The caliph al-Wāthiq-Billah, the son of Mu'taṣim, throughout his rule, which lasted five years, concerned himself with religious matters. He violently persecuted those whose faith differed from his.

[2] He gives a chronological list of the Abbasid Caliphs which is the same as found in the books of history.

His successor al-Mutawakkil openly persecuted the Jews and the Christians in his empire and greatly molested the adherents of the Alids. In 850 Mutawakkil did a very detrimental thing; he divided all the countries under his sovereignty among his three sons. To his first-born son Mohammed [i.e., al-Muntaṣir] he gave as a heritage the provinces of Africa, North of Syria and Mesopotamia, Sind, Makran and Ahwaz. To the second, whose name was Ṭalḥa [i.e., al-Mu'tazz] he bestowed Khorasan, Tabaristan, Rayy, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Persia. In 854 he entrusted to him the supreme control over the royal treasury and the superintendence over the mints. He also gave him the right to stamp his name on the currency. The youngest son Ibrahim received as heritage Khiva, Damascus, and Palestine. As in the time of Hārūn, when he undertook such a division, disorders occurred between el-Amīn and el-Ma'mūn. So, at the time of Mutawakkil, quarrels and agitation arose in the Abbasid family. In consequence of internal warfare and confusion the power of the caliphs slowly diminished. The prefects of the states became more and more powerful and, casting off the rule of the caliph, became the rulers of countries independent of them, such as the Idrsids, Aghlabids, Ikhshids, Tulunids, Tagrids, Safarids, Samanids, and Dailamites. The Caliph ar-Rāḍi-Billah strove to repress the audacious conduct of the prefects. He established the office called Amīr-al Umarā, that is the supreme Amīr, to whom he entrusted the administration of all military and political affairs. But this constitution did not help to reform the affairs of the government; on the contrary it hastened the end of the rule of the caliphs. Thenceforth ambitious men strove desperately to snatch at and seize this position of Amīr-al-Umarā. After receiving it, they conducted the affairs of the government independently, leaving to caliphs power only in religious matters.

Later, at the time of the caliphate of el-Musta'ṣim the Mongols attacked the Arab empire. In the year of our Lord 1258 they took Baghdad and killed el-Musta'ṣim. Thus the rule of the Abbasids ended, and the eastern caliphate was destroyed.

The art of poetry, which was held in high esteem by the Arabs from olden times, flourished after the religion of Mohammed was introduced. Rules were set for rhyme, syllables and metre. Rhetorical syllables of the same sound, forced rhymed endings and beginnings, and also a great many artificial refinements were introduced into their poems. But, in later times, in measure as poetical works increased according to the exterior form of beauty and ease of pronunciation, by so much did the poetical ardor and the zealous spirit decrease from what it was before the time of Mohammed. Besides the many poetical writings of Arabic literature, more noteworthy is the famous book of popular tales, called *A Thousand and One Nights,*

which has been translated into all European languages. Also the Poetry of Harīrī and the Proverbs of Lokman, which up to this day are continually in the mouths of our people. The whole Qur'ān is written in rhythmic prose. There are excellent pieces in it, especially the descriptions of the last judgment and the sufferings in hell.

The art of poetry flourished especially among the Persians after they came under the rule and the laws of the Arabs. The narratives of old Persia have been made known throughout the world; they are the *Book of Kings* (Shahnāme) written by Firdousi (d. 1030), the *Garden of Roses* (Gulistan) and *Trees* (Bostan) of Sa'di (1189-1291), and the *Songs of Love and Joy* of Hāfiz the singer (d. 1389-94); The poems of Jami' (d. 1492) and other proverbial writings, narratives and stories on whose account Persia might be called the land of poets.

As the rule of the Arabs grew firmer, and they came into contact with the Byzantines, especially from the days of the Umayyads, and as the seat of their dynasty was moved to Damascus, arts and sciences greatly prospered. At the beginning, the instructors of the Arabs were the Byzantine artists and scientists whom the Caliphs were wont to invite to Damascus. Some were called to build them magnificent mansions, some to supervise the treasury and some to practise medicine. The Mohammedan Arabs learned from them and in a short time excelled their masters in arts and especially in sciences. This became the beginning of a new architectural style, which is called Arab-Byzantine, its characteristics being that the pillars are light and handsome, coloured with many flowery ornaments. The Byzantine scientists founded colleges in Damascus in which they taught the arts of mathematics, medicine and the natural sciences. To facilitate the teaching of these [subjects] they translated from Greek into Arabic the books that treated of these sciences. In the colleges they also taught philosophy, linguistics and grammar, which were very important for the Arabic language. Later, theology was introduced according to the tenets of the Mohammedans, and this became the cause of the rise of schisms and heresies in their religion. Among the Mohammedans in Damascus, Baghdad, Spain and Persia the sciences of astronomy, chemistry, arithmetic and geography flourished. The decimal system of numbers which is employed all over the world, the Arabs took from the Indians, and for the first time began its usage. They invented the calculus which the Europeans up to this day call by its Arabic name, Algebra. In Baghdad, Samarkand, Bukhara, and in Herat there were colleges, libraries and observatories, where they examined the movements of celestial bodies and gave themselves to astronomy, mathematics and geography. In 1080, Omar Khayyām very accurately computed the length of the year. The maps of the sky and the different parts of the earth, which the Arab scientists prepared in the tenth and

eleventh centuries, were held in great esteem by Europeans until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Those that were made in Samarkand in the Persian language, are up to this time useful to scientists. Some of their scientists were led astray from astronomy into astrology, that is, the divination of the future according to the movements of celestial bodies, and also from chemistry into alchemy, which is the false art of synthesizing gold. Of the natural sciences physics flourished among them, especially that part which deals with light and vision. Among the medical sciences pharmacology and anatomy [flourished]. For the latter their scientists dissected and examined the bodies of the dead; although this is forbidden by the Mohammedan religion. The book called *Elements of Medical Knowledge,* written by Avicenna (d. 1037) was translated into Latin and for many centuries it was the textbook for teaching the science of medicine. The art of music also greatly throve among them. It is said that in the eleventh century, it was they who, by taking their music there, introduced into Europe the use of measured music.

Of all the books of the Greeks those of Aristotle were the most revered by the Arabs, who translated them into Arabic and wrote many commentaries about them; especially the great Arab philosopher Ibn Rushd who is commonly called Averroes (1105-1198).

At the beginning of the Arab conquests, Armenia was divided between the two neighbouring empires, viz., the Byzantine and the Persian, which had a common boundary in Armenia. These relations were established between the emperor Maurice and Khosroes II Parwez, and were re-affirmed at the time of Heraclius.

When the Arabs pillaged Persia, some Armenian prefects with their cavalry went to help the Persians. Many of them fell in the battle. When the Sasanian Empire was overthrown, parts of Armenia, such as the territories around Massis, Arakadz, Dvin and others which were on the eastern side and under the Persian rule, for a time became autonomous, or as it is more proper to say, they degenerated into anarchy. The disunited nobles then lost Armenia (Sebeos, p. 103). Only Theodorus, the prefect of Rshtounia, exercising his unusual wisdom took good care of the land and by the power of his generalship guarded its boundaries. But soon the Arabs invaded and sacked Armenia, which, being weakened because of internal agitations and also on account of the disruptive wars between the Greeks and the Persians, could not stand against the Mohammedan hordes who were coming to conquer or die.

Our historians such as Sebeos, Ghevond, and Hovhan Mamikonian, who are nearest to the time of the events, differ in their narrations of the beginning of the Arab conquest near the region of Taron, a fact which is not mentioned by Ghevond or Sebeos. Ghevond puts the first

entry of Arabs into Armenia in Azerbaijan, which again is not mentioned in Sebeos. Those conquests, during which Arabs seized Dvin, are narrated by Sebeos, Ghevond and all other historians who came after them, as also the other conquests during which the armies of the enemy, being divided into three divisions, raided several different parts of Armenia. No matter how it happened, we are convinced that all these invasions of Arabs were only raids of marauders, who would come and attack the country and, taking booty and captives, would return without repressing the Armenians or subjugating them. The subjugation of Armenia under the Arab rule and the beginning of the payment of taxes, in our opinion, were after these conquests, in the years 651-661.

The first Arab conquest, according to the testimony of Hovhan Mamikonian (pp. 57-58) took place eight years after the death of Khosroes II (died in 628), under the leadership of 'Abd ar-Rahim the nephew of Mohammed. With an army of eighty thousand he entered into Taron and demanded taxes from the Armenians. Some of the Armenian prefects appealed to Tiran, the lord of the Mamikonians. The Armenian legion amounted to about nine thousand men, who, though they were fewer than the enemy were not discouraged, but rose against the Mohammedans, and were about to conquer them had not Sahour, the prince of the Antsevatzians, with his men deserted the Armenian legion at a decisive moment. Thus the power of the Armenian legion was broken. "When Tiran saw that everything was lost, he attacked in the center; he preferred to die rather than see the church of God paying tribute to the Tajiks. He split the army [of the enemy] in two, met Sahour and said: 'Stop, apostate Sahour, for Christ has put you into my hands,' and cut off the head of Sahour, and there, along with two princes, was glorified." 'Abd ar-Rahim passed through Harck in Basya and in Vanand, and returned to Tajistant after taking tribute.

Ghevond (p. 7) and following him Asoghik (p. 120) speak of another conquest. After pillaging Persia and destroying the Sasanid kingdom, the greater part of the Arab army broke away and raided Armenia on the Persian side and looted the towns of the Medians, the province of Goghthn and the territories of Nakhjevan. They sent back the booty and the captives by way of the river Yeraskh to Jugha, whence a part of the army proceeded towards the west to the frontiers of the Greek dominion against the Greek general Procopius who had encamped in Kogovit. On their way, Theodorus Rshtouni, with his army, suddenly fell upon them and ambushed and destroyed a great many of the enemy. He then took the booty of the fallen and departed from Procopius making his way towards Garni. But the Arab army rushed forward and struck Procopius severely, and gather-

ing the spoil of the Greek army, returned to its country. The time of this conquest is not verified, because Ghevond and Asoghik who put it in the twenty-second year of the reign of Abu-Bakr, 'Omar and 'Othman, are not clear, nor is the matter understood yet, because we do not know which year of our era Ghevond reckons as the first year of their rule.

The Arabs could not reach Dvin, the capital of Armenia, during these two attacks, the first of which fell upon the Armenians from the south; it spread to the north from the province of Taron up to Basen, and from there to the east up to Vanand; the second spread from the Persian border to the northwest. Though they approached the city they were driven back. Their third attack, which was more important than the first two, and which is described by nearly all our historians (Ghevond p. 9, Asoghik p. 120, Hovhannes Catholicos p. 105, Samuel of Ani, and particularly Sebeos p. 108-109), spread up to the city of Dvin. This time also, as before, the Arabs entered into Armenia from Assyria via Tsor or Tsora in the land of Taron. On their way they destroyed the province of Bznounia, Aghyovid, and Kogovit, and rushed into Ararat; from there they drove east to the city of Dvin. The three princes who had arisen to rally the scattered soldiers hastily crossed the bridge of Medsamor (situated on the west side of Dvin) that led into the city, and after destroying it from behind they spread the bad news in Dvin. When the Arab forces reached the river Medsamor, they could not cross it; "but they had Vardik, the prince of Moks, who was called Aknik, as their guide." He led them across the river; they struck and pillaged the country and approached Dvin. Though Theodorus Rshtouni, who went to Nakhtchevan, did not come to the city, the inhabitants valiantly defended themselves and the city. But the enemy "spread smoke round about, and amidst the smoke and shooting drove the guards from the ramparts, erected ladders, climbed on the walls, and entering it opened the gate of the city. Soon the armies of the enemy rushed in and killed with the sword the inhabitants, and taking booty encamped outside the city." After some days they rose up and went away by the same route by which they had come, with a multitude of captives amounting to thirty-five thousand. In the province of Kogovit, Theodorus Rshtouni, with few men, ambushed them but was unable to do them any harm, and he himself fled from them, who then returned to Assyria with spoil.

The fourth invasion of the Arabs is narrated differently as to time and place by Sebeos (pp. 116-17), Ghevond (p. 11), and following him, Asoghik (p. 112) and others. At this time Arabs entered into Armenia through Azerbaijan. According to Ghevond they divided into three sections, [one advancing in] Vaspourakan, [the other] in

Taron and [the third] in Kogovit. According to Sebeos [they advanced] in Ararat, against the chief legion, and in Caspo-Albania. After taking tremendous spoil and after much slaughter, one of the legions besieged the fortress of Ardsap. The Armenian troops who were in the fortress fought bravely against the marauders, and did a great deal of damage, until the enemy found out the secret entrance to the castle. At night, stealthily, they entered in and finding the guards asleep killed them, and occupied the spot until morning. The next day they dashed in and after a violent massacre and taking of spoil, a great many of them fell to carousing. Just then, Theodorus Rshtouni arrived with six hundred armed men, destroyed and killed all of the Ishmaelites, who were about three thousand men, took away from them the captives and the booty. But one of the other two legions ravaged the regions of Daick, Georgia and Caspo-Albania (Sebeos), and the other [legion sacked] Vaspourakan as far as Nakhtchevan city (Ghevond). When the emporer Constantine heard about the victory of Theodorus Rshtouni he rejoiced and expressed his gratitude to him.

The time of this invasion is reckoned differently by the two contemporary historians. Sebeos reckons it in the second year of Constantine, viz., 642 A.D. But Ghevond, and Asoghik who follows him, reckon it in the thirty-sixth year of the rule of Abu-Bakr, 'Omar, and 'Othman. According to the reckoning of Ghevond—who puts the capture of Dvin in the twenty-sixth year of their rule and in the second year of [the rule] of Constantine—twelve years is given to Constantine, [who is thus placed at] 652 A.D.

During these conquests the Byzantines did not defend the countries whose masters they were. The Armenian prefects, because of their dissension and impotency, were not able to resist the numerous invasions. Consequently the country [Armenia] was forced to submit to the yoke of the Arabs through whose resolution Theodorus Rshtouni became leader. This subjugation, according to the testimony of Sebeos took place in the twelfth year of Constantine (652 A.D.) "The Armenians revolted," says Sebeos (p. 138), "separated from the Greek empire, submitted and served the king of Ismail. Theodorus, the lord of Rshtounians, with all the Armenian princes vowed [to serve him] till death, and made a contract with Satan and forsook the heavenly agreement." Sebeos himself presents the terms of the stipulation which the caliph sealed with the Armenian princes, viz., "let this be my vow of reconciliation between me and you as many years as you wish. For three years I shall not take taxes from you; but then you shall pay, taking an oath, as much as you wish. You shall have seventeen thousand horsemen from your country [ready

for service] and shall give me food from your country, and I will count these as part of the royal tax. I shall not demand horsemen from Assyria, but they have to be ready to work wherever I command them. I shall not send officials to your fortresses, nor Arab officers, not even a horseman from my great [cavalry]. No enemy shall enter into Armenia. If the Greeks attack you, I will send armies to help you, as much as you want; I swear by the Great God that I am not lying" (Sebeos, p. 138). When the emperor Constantine heard that the Armenians were no more under his service, he came to Armenia with a powerful legion to punish the rebels. The Catholicos Nerses and many Armenian prefects with their own armies welcomed him as their lord. But Theodorus Rshtouni did not recognize him, and did not accept his call, because he had adhered to the Arabs according to the vow of agreement, nor did the Geogians, Caspo-Albanians and Sunis who were in accord with him. Though Constantine endeavored to arrest Theodorus, he was unable to take him, and he ordered his armies to destroy the province of his principality, and also Georgia, Caspo-Albania and Sunik. He, then, with his army passed the winter in Dvin and sought to unite in faith the Armenians with the Greeks. He forced them (the Armenians) to accept the council of Chalcedon (Sebeos, p. 119). When the spring came he departed again to Constantinople. After his departure Theodorus Rshtouni by the help of the Arabs drove the Greek armies out of the country and pushed victoriously up to Trebizond. After subjecting the Armenians to Arab rule he went to Damascus and received power from Moāwiya to reign over the Armenians, Georgians, Caspo-Albanians and Sunis (Sebeos, pp. 138-143).

The circumstances of this conquest are not related by Ghevond. According to his testimony (pp. 14-15) Moāwiya, in the first year of his reign, and in the twenty-seventh year of Constantine wrote the following edict to the Armenians: "If you will not pay homage to me and will not come under my yoke I will destroy all of you with the sword." Nerses Shinogh (Builder), Catholicos and the Armenian prefects, frightened by the threats of the letter, "consented to yield to the tyranny of the Ishmaelites." They offered to Moāwiya Grigor Mamikonian and Sembat Bagratouni as hostages. [The Arabs] "levied on Armenia a yearly tax of five hundred drachmae, and assured them that they would stay in their homes" (Ghevond, p. 14).

This agreement to pay taxes was of course after the death of Theodorus Rshtouni (656 A.D.), therefore it is after the conquest mentioned by Sebeos. Perhaps after the first invasion, related by Sebeos, agitation again took place among the Armenians, and there was also intercourse between the catholicos and some prefects with the Byzan-

tines. For these reasons the caliph wrote the threatening letter by which the Armenians were forced to take the yoke of the Arabs, willingly or unwillingly. At present it is not possible to correlate the writings of the historians. But this we may infer from it all, that the Armenians were forced to stop serving Byzantium, and to recognize the caliphs as their lords (652 A.D.). But in 661 A.D. they were completely subdued under their rule and made contracts to pay taxes.

But Baladhuri, the Arab historian (ed. Goeje 1866, pp. 199-202) gives a different account from that of our historians of the conquests of Armenia by the Arabs. According to his testimony, during the reign of 'Othman (644-656) Habib Ibn Maslama, the Arab general, with an army of from six to eight thousand, attacked Armenia via Assyria and Mesopotamia. He besieged the city of Galigal and took it. When Habib heard that the Armenians were advancing upon him with the armies of Alans, Apkhazk, and Khazirk, he wrote to 'Othman and Moāwiya and asked for help. Moāwiya sent him a legion of two thousand soldiers under the leadership of the general of Kūfa city, and 'Othman through his general Salman Ibn Rabia sent him six thousand soldiers. But soon trouble arose between Habib and Salman, whom 'Othman ordered to attack Aran (Sunis). Habib, after subduing the Galigala city, proceeded to Khlath, Arjesh, and Ashtishat, crossed the river of the Kurds (Yeraskh) and besieged Dvin, the inhabitants of which opened its doors to him. From here he rushed to Bagrevand, Nakhtchevan, Sunis, Vayots Valey, Derchan, and Tiflis, and subjected all these to Arab rule. Baladhuri gives the following copy of the contract which Habib sealed with Dvin city:

"In the name of the compassionate and merciful God. This is the letter, which Habib the son of Maslama granted to the Christians, Magi, and Jews of Dvin city and those present or absent.

"I have granted to you safety of your lives and possessions, churches and temples, and the ramparts of your city. You shall be in safety. We will keep this contract permanently, because you have willed and promised to pay poll-tax and land tax. God is witness, and His testimony is enough.

"This letter of treaty sealed with his own ring Habib, the son of Maslama" (Baladhuri, p. 200).

During the Arab rule the political condition of Armenia was in confusion. The Arabs, considering the country to be their own, demanded that they [the Armenians] should obey them and pay taxes. But Byzantium despised their arrogance, and imagined that, as before, it [Armenia] belonged to her. When the emperor Constantine came to Armenia, "in Dertchan they were greeted by Ishmaelites who handed him a letter from their prince, which said: 'Armenia is mine,

do not go there; if you go, I will attack you and seize you and you will not escape again.' Constantine said: 'The land is mine, I am proceeding, if you attack me, the God of righteousness be the judge' " (Sebeos p. 139). The heart of the Armenian people through the influence and example of the clergy was sympathetic to Byzantium, to the Christian empire. Often, in the beginning, the prefects revolted against the Arabs to throw off their yoke. Since the revolts did not spread all over the country but were limited to one region, and since few participated in them, it was easy for the Arabs to subdue them.

In these times because of "wars, agitations, numerous slaughters, captivities, troubles, bondages, tribulations—the pillaging of towns, setting fire to buildings and the great damage to the many territories on both sides," as says Asoghik (p. 85), the condition of the country grew worse and worse, due to the indiscreet policy of the Greeks. When the Armenian prefects revolted against the Arabs and asked help from them against those who molested them, they [the Greeks] did not render the necessary help; so, hardly had the prefects cast away the yoke of the Arabs, than they had to serve them anew. But when the Armenians, being struck and weakened, would be subjected to the Arab yoke, then the Greek legions would come, not to defend the country against the invaders, as it would have been wise to do, but in order to punish the Armenians as rebels, and to destroy the land. In addition, they convened ecclesiastical councils and through the threat of their surrounding armies compelled the Armenians to accept the council of Chalcedon (Sebeos, p. 119, Asoghik, p. 89). When the Armenian prefects suffered violent affliction at the hands of the *sheriffs* and appealed to the Greeks and asked them to allow them to migrate to the borders of their kingdom (Ghevond, pp. 23, 35, 133, 168) they gave them either the remote regions of Thrace, or the shores of Pontus Sea in which to dwell (Ghevond, pp. 35, 168; Asoghik, pp. 201, 278). Because of these actions of Byzantium a great many people became disgusted with her and preferred to live under the rule of the Arabs rather than hers.

When the *sheriffs* observed that the Armenian prefects were in continual contact with Byzantium and always revolting against them —especially the patriotic house of Mamikonians, which at all times gave itself for the liberation of the country and the church—they looked with aversion upon them and believed that "always oppositions and obstacles would happen during their reign" (Ghevond, p. 31). For this reason the *sheriffs* were desirous of removing entirely from their midst the families of the Armenian prefects, or at least establishing the weakest ones, in order that they might be safe against their revolts, and the country might be more easily subjugated to their yoke.

At the beginning of the Arab reign the caliphs instituted governors from the Armenian prefects, as for instance, Theodorus Rshtouni (Sebeos, p. 143), Grigor Mamikonian, patrician Ashot Bagratouni (Ghevond, p. 14, 16) and others. But at the time of 'Abd al-Malik (685-705) the *sheriffs* were appointed from the Arabs only, whose rule was sometimes exclusively limited to Armenia. Sometimes Armenia and Azerbaijan together were under the rule of one *sheriff,* because as we mentioned above, for a time Azerbaijan and Armenia were one state under Arab [rule].

The principal city of the *sheriffs* of Armenia was Dvin, which at the beginning of the fourth century was the capital of the Armenians. It was a rich and densely populated city; this is confirmed by the testimony of Thovma Ardzrouni (p. 230), [who says] that in the great earthquake that took place in 893 A.D., more than seventy thousand people died in Dvin. At present only its ruins remain. Besides Dvin, the *sheriffs* sometimes sat in Nakhtchevan and in Bartav.

The power of the *sheriffs,* as mentioned above, sometimes increased and sometimes decreased according to the will of the caliphs, for they sometimes selected them, and sent them to govern the country. Generally they were under the immediate rule of caliphs, to whom they brought the taxes of the country. But sometimes they submitted to the chief *sheriffs* of Azerbaijan and Assyria. *Sheriffs* themselves selected their own ministers whose special duty was to collect taxes from the provinces and bring it to the *sheriffs.* Our historians called these men ministers or tax collectors (Ghevond, pp. 136, 138, 139). The *sheriffs* had a legion of soldiers under their command, by whom they kept the conquered country in subjugation.

They did not meddle with the internal administration of the country, which was in the hands of the prefects. They forced the people to recognize the caliph as their lord, and to pay the yearly taxes. At the time of Moāwiya the tax was five hundred drachms (Ghevond, p. 14). Later it increased more and more, and in the time of king Sembat reached sixty thousand drachms (Hov. Catholicos, p. 270). Often, we read in our historians, especially in Ghevond, that the people were molested by heavy taxes, because the tax collectors exceeded the limit of their power and ruled the country with cruelty and oppression (Ghevond, pp. 127, 135, 137, 139 etc.).

From the very beginning the cavalry of the Armenian prefects received one hundred thousand drachms yearly as food wages from the caliphs. But, later, the wages of the court were cut off, and the prefects were compelled to provide the wages (Ghevond, p. 113, 128).

At the time of the *sheriffs,* the Armenian Church commonly enjoyed liberty in religion and worship, because the object and the aim of the caliphs was not to force the country to accept Mohammedan-

ism. At times our historians mention the plundering of churches, religious persecutions and the martyrdom of Christians who did not confess the Mohammedan religion. [Generally, however] the clergy were honored by the *sheriffs,* and often the Catholicoi went to them and to the caliphs as delegates to ask relief on behalf of their people. They returned with honors and gifts and received [recognition] of their requests (Ghevond, pp. 28-31).

After the Armenians came under the rule of the Arabs, although the religion of the two peoples and the conditions of their contact with each other caused division among them, the Armenians were influenced in their daily intercourse by Arab manners and customs, and also by the arts and sciences and letters which flourished among the Arabs. Their influence is seen especially in literature; in poetry, new metres and rhymes were introduced which were unknown to the Armenians before [the coming] of the Arabs. This was also true in the prose writings which were embellished by the oratorical eloquence [of the Arabs] and in the accumulation of homonyms and synonyms. We cannot discern precisely at present the influence of the Arabs in sciences, because only historical and theological works of our ancient writers have been published and investigated. The mathematical and especially the medical writings, in which the influence of Arab sciences is principally manifested, have not yet been made available, though some of them deserve investigation. For this reason it is very desirable that these writings, as well as the historical and theological books, be accessible to scholars, that they may bring forth their fruits towards the fulfillment of mathematical and medical sciences.

When the rule of the caliphs declined and the *sheriffs* freely took hold of the government of the states, the caliphs, in order to restrain the unbridled insolence of their *sheriffs,* willingly yielded the collection of the taxes of the country to the Armenian prefects. They even alleviated the tax rate, and generally widened their rights and rule. The Bagratounian family which for many years had desired greatness and honor, received the generalship of the Armenian armies. During the caliphate of Hāshim (724-743 A.D.) they also governed Armenia (Ghevond, 112, 128); after that time they flourished and were strengthened, and in the ninth century, Ashot Bagratouni received from the caliph a royal crown and valuable gifts. When the emperor Basil II of Macedonia, who was of Armenian descent, heard this, he sent him a crown and a purple robe with a letter of congratulation, in which he called Ashot his dear son, and his kingdom, closer to his heart than any other kingdom. When the *sheriffs* of Azerbaijan saw that a considerable part of Armenia was taken from their hands by the rule of the Bagratounis, who every day were being strengthened by contact with emperors and caliphs, they contin-

ually sought to subdue them. For this reason they often attacked the borders of the Bagratounian kingdom and killed [the Armenians] and took many of them captive. During one of their invasions at the time of the second Bagratounian king there was violent destruction and massacre in the country. These were followed by famine and epidemic which killed a great many people. On the other hand, the Byzantine emperors were friendly with the Bagratounian House, as is manifested by a frequent exchange of gifts, yet being occupied by internal conspiracies and agitations in the court, they had no opportunity during the invasions to send help to the Bagratounis. The Byzantines had declared that for the safety of their frontiers they ought to defend the independence of the Armenians against the caliphs and *sheriffs*. Although the Emperors were often removed, yet all of them maintained this same purpose. In 920 A.D., the patriarch Nicholas, who was the ultimate adviser of the Emperor Constantine VII, sent a letter to the Armenian Catholicos. After words of sympathy at the destruction of Armenia, he wrote that it was necessary for the prefects to refrain from internal agitations, and under the command of their king, to rise unitedly against the common enemy. [He also mentions that] he has already written to the Georgian, Caspo-Albanian and to the Apkhask kings, that each one with his armies should come to help the Armenians. Soon after this, the ambassadors of the Emperor came to Armenia to invite to Constantinople the Catholicos and the legal heir of the Bagratounian kingdom. The coming of Ashot at the invitation of the Emperor and the description of honors and gifts which he received from him are narrated not only by Armenian historians (Hov. Catholicos, p. 356) but also by the Greeks (see Rambeaud, *L'empire Grec au Xe Siècle*, p. 504).

Ashot, after receiving money and a legion of soldiers to help him, returned to Armenia. The Caliph favoured him too, and granted him the title "King of kings" (Shahnshah), and recognized him as the leader of the other small kings of Armenia (such as the king of Vaspourakan, of Kars or Vanand) whom the *sheriffs* of Azerbaijan, who opposed the caliphs, had enthroned in order to spread agitation between them and the Bagratounis in order to weaken the latter's power.

While the Arabs were in power and the eastern frontiers of the empire were not safe from their attacks, the emperors guarded and favoured the Bagratounian dynasty and defended it with armies and counsellors. But when the rule of the caliphs was weakened, and there was no danger from them [i.e., the caliphs] for the empire, the emperors themselves, through their generals, took by force the greater part of the Armenian cities as well as the provinces under Arab [rule]. This changed the complexion of the relations between the Greeks and the Bagratounis. Instead of the love and protection which the

former emperors displayed, the new emperors sought to weaken them more and more, and finally they entirely destroyed their sovereignty. It may be said that the weakening of the rule of the caliphs became the cause of the downfall of the Bagratounian Kingdom.

The time and circumstances of Ghevond, whose history we are publishing in a new edition, are not exactly known, since neither he nor the other historians who followed him are clear on these points. We only know that he lived in the eighth century; was a clergyman; that some call him archimandrite, and others call him priest. He wrote his history at the request of Lord Shapouh Bagratouni, like Moses of Khoren, Elishe, Ghazar of Pharpi and our other historians, who at the request of the princes wrote down the incidents and the events in the history of our country. In the manuscript copy of the history of Ghevond the title is as follows: "History of Ghevond, the great divine of the Armenians, concerning the coming of Mohammed and his followers; how and by what means they ruled the world, especially the Armenian nation." His history starts from the death of Mohammed (632 A.D.) and continues until the year 788 A.D. So it embraces a period of 156 years. He relates the events of his own time as an eye witness.

The book of Ghevond is important for scholars, not only for the exact history of incidents and events of our native country, but also for the great amount of information which he gives concerning the Arabs, the Khazars, and the Byzantines of the time, which it is impossible to find in either our own or in foreign historians. Especially the correspondence between the Caliph 'Omar and Emperor Leo III are valuable. In them we see the opinions of the Christians and Mohammedans about each other during the first century of the introduction of the new religion. They also contain very detailed and scholarly information about the religion of the Mohammedans, their heresies, their manners, and the early customs of the Arabs. Since Arab historians appeared very late, i.e., after the events, in the ninth and tenth centuries, and since the information of the Greek historians generally is incomplete and not entirely reliable, the value of the authentic history of Ghevond is greatly enhanced.

Of European scholars the first who made use of the history of Ghevond was Brosset, a member of the Faculty of Sciences in the College of St. Petersburg. In 1849, he selected and quoted some information from it [Ghevond's history] in his book called *Histoire de la Géorgie* (pp. 252, 257, Additions, p. 136 and *ibid*). In 1856 A.D., Karapet V. Shahnazariants published in Paris the translation of the history of Ghevond in French with many annotations, under the title of *"Histoire des guerres et des conquêtes des Arabes en Arménie, par l'éminent Ghevond vartabet Arménian, écrivain de huitième siècle."*

In 1857, he published for the first time, in the same city, the Armenian text of the History with annotations, which for the greater part he translated into Armenian from his French version. Karapet Vardapet Shahnazariants made his text from one copy, which he had transcribed from the manuscript history of Ghevond in the library of Holy Etchmiadzin. In 1862, at the proposal of the Faculty of Sciences of the College in St. Petersburg, K. Patkanian translated the history into the Russian language, and added to it a great many detailed annotations in order to explain and elucidate it.

This, our new impression, was made by comparing the first printed [book] with the manuscript copy of the history of Ghevond which was at our disposal, about which complete information has been given in The Introduction to the history of Asoghik, pp. 33-38. And therefore, as it is mentioned there also, the first thirteen chapters of the history of Ghevond were lacking in this manuscript (up to page 43 of our edition). For this reason we asked the very Rev. Housik Vardapet Movsesiants to have transcribed from the manuscript copy in the library of the Holy Etchmiadzin the parts of our manuscript which were missing, which he willingly consented to do. Many thanks are due to the Rev. Father Movsesiants.

By comparing these manuscript copies with the first printed copy, Stepanos Malkhasiants, according to our request, formed the text of our impression, with notations of variant readings at the bottom of each page.

The divisions of several chapters in this impression were made according to divisions of chapters in the manuscript copy which we possess, for the chapter arrangements of the one printed in Paris are not according to Ghevond, but according to its publisher, the very Rev. G. V. Shahnazariants. We thought it useful to add at the end of the book translations of those annotations of K. Patkanian and G. V. Shahnazariants, which we think necessary for Armenian readers.

We, being the executor of the will of the deceased Hovsep Izmiriants, made this publication of Ghevond in behalf of the Tiflis Society for the Publication of Armenian Books, using the money which was donated for this purpose by the brother of the departed in his memory. Some information about our unforgettable friend and patriot Hovsep Izmiriants is given in the publication of Asoghik (*Introduction,* pp. 43-45). There are also some articles in his Will in the Fifth appendix.

K. Iziants

Translated by Terenig Poladian

New York City

ARAB FEDERATION*

The movement for Arab autonomy was gaining strength as early as the first decade of the twentieth century. The leaders looked hopefully to the rise of the Young Turk Party against the dictatorial rule of the Caliph Abdul Hameed, but they met only with bitter disappointment. The entry of Turkey into the first Great War on the side of Germany gave them the opportunity of maturing their plans, and they pinned their faith to an Allied victory as the guarantor of a resuscitated Arab Kingdom. The establishment of Mandates in the Near and Middle East came as a violent shock to all their hopes.

Once more, the movement for Arab unity is in the ascendancy. Its first objective, in the words of H.E. Mustapha Nahas Pasha, is "to help the Arab nations to realize their aspirations for liberty and independence." Beyond this, no clear statement of policy has been issued. Nahas Pasha has declared his intention "to seek the views of the Arab Governments each one separately and then to try to reconcile their ideals as far as possible." This is the procedure thus far followed. Soon he proposes "to invite them to an informal meeting in Cairo with a view to reaching a mutual understanding," and to follow this up with a Conference, when such decisions would be reached as "might be deemed necessary for the realization of the objects aimed at by the Arab nations."

What these objectives are Nahas Pasha has not stated. Some entertain hopes of a political federation, leading, perhaps, in the end, to a political union. Others are convinced that, having tasted the fruits of political independence since the First World War, the Arab countries will be reluctant to merge their sovereignty into a larger whole. They believe that the bonds of union will be social and cultural, or economic and financial, rather than political.

That the countries of the Near and Middle East could dovetail their economic policies into a single unified system, to their mutual advantage, has been conclusively proved by the findings of the recent Middle East Agricultural Conference, and by the achievements of a narrow nationalism and of powerful vested interests which are at present restricting the easy flow of commodities from one country to another.

Culturally, the Arab countries have much in common. Islam is the dominating religion. There is the same background of tradition and literature, and Arabic supplies a common linguistic tie. Egypt, Iraq, Syria and the Lebanon are members of the Cultural Bureau at Cairo, and negotiations are now proceeding for the adherence of Trans-

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* Reprinted by permission from *World Dominion and the World Today*, London, Nov.-Dec., 1944.

jordan. For some years the Ministry of Education in Egypt has seconded teachers for service in Iraq, and the law about education enacted there in 1940 (Iraq Official Journal, No. 1820, dated 4th August, 1940—Law 57, 1940) owed its form largely to the collaboration of the officials of the Egyptian Ministry of Education. The Egyptian Official Journal of the 20th March, 1944, contains a decree, regulating provisionally the equivalence of Certificates given in Arab countries with those of the Egyptian Government.

Naturally, it is assumed that the basis of Arab culture is Islam. In an interview published in the Egyptian Gazette, of the 21st December, 1943, H.R.H. The Emir Feisal, Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia, and H.M. King Ibn Saud's deputy in the Hedjaz, stated:

"There is one thing which should be taken into consideration with regard to the constitution of any federation—that is the Koran. The Koran contains religious, social, commercial, even political aspects. It preaches cooperation where interests are common. It prescribes the means of improving everything in life. Some would protest that there are Christians among the Arabs. But they were always a part of the Arab nations. They were good citizens and good friends. The Koran gives everyone the right to worship God as he thinks fit. But besides the religious part of the Koran there is the part that contains advice on administration of laws, on the conduct of trade, on economics, on everything in life. All should abide by these laws."

In Egypt, too, there are men of a conservative trend of thought who advocate a return to the Koran as the basis of modern law. Dr. Abdel Razek Sanhouri Bey, later Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Education, delivered a public lecture along these lines in 1937. Most Egyptians, however, while recognizing Islam as "the religion of the State" are committed to a modern constitution and modern legislation. Many would claim with Nahas Pasha that "the Prophet Mohammed had laid the foundation of tolerance and ruled that there should be no distinction between Moslems and those of other creeds. He had preached equality and brotherhood, and abhorred fanaticism and egoism." (Speech delivered at the Moslem New Year, December, 1943.) Guarantees of complete religious freedom are contained in the Egyptian Constitution of 1923, which, however, retains the article that "the religion of the State is Islam."

Unfortunately, these fair words and these generous safeguards are largely negatived by the assumption that because the religion of the State is Islam, it is the duty of the Government to protect Islam against anything that might be interpreted as an attack upon it. Measures have been introduced more than once into the Egyptian Parliament to forbid all forms of "religious propaganda," to give the Government control of all schools, to forbid the teaching of Christianity to Moslems, and to make compulsory the teaching of Islam to Moslem pupils in Christian schools.

Though none of these measures has yet become law, they provide a clear indication of the trend of thought of Egypt's political leaders. Furthermore, the Egyptian Christians have failed hitherto in all their efforts to secure Christian teaching for Christian children in the Government compulsory schools. They know from sad experience how they are penalized as regards appointments in Government offices, and in promotions and locations. Foreign firms have been instructed to engage a certain proportion of Egyptians, and it has been made clear to them that by Egyptians is meant Moslem Egyptians. The Christians see daily how the Censorship is being used to restrict the expression of Christian thought in books and magazines.

Some Moslem leaders have gone so far as to say that the only firm basis for Egyptian nationalism or Arab federation is Islamic culture, and that any other culture destroys the homogeneity of the nation. It is not surprising, therefore, that many among the Christian minorities view with alarm the present form of the proposals for Arab federation. Foreign missions realize that their activities also may be seriously curtailed. The educational law passed in Iraq in 1940, to which reference has already been made, was definitely restrictive in tone. It is symptomatic of the trend of legislation in independent Arab countries to-day.

While appreciating the benefits which might accrue from Arab federation, Christians are afraid of a cultural basis, which is either that of orthodox Islam, or of Moslem thought as evidenced in Egypt at the present time. They could wish that Arab Federation had a non-religious basis, or that a far more tolerant form of Islam might be evolved. In any case, they hope that the Arab countries will sign whatever declaration of religious freedom is required of all participants in the Peace Treaty, and that the international organization set up at the end of the war will make religious freedom a reality everywhere.

It is commonly believed in the Near East that the movement for Arab federation has the support of the British Government. Some interpret this maliciously as a desire on the part of Great Britain to establish a solid Arab *bloc,* which will be exclusively attached to her. Others regard it more benignly as part of a world-wide movement for closer co-operation, economically and culturally, between small independent related States. Many hope that within such a federation a place might be found for the Jews, and so a solution discovered to the apparently insoluble problem of Arab-Jewish relations in Palestine. From every angle, therefore, it is apparent that the movement for Arab federation is fraught with great possibilities for good or evil.

S. A. Morrison

Cairo, Egypt

Modern Islam in India, a Social Analysis. By Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Lahore, 1943. 8vo. vii, 399 pp. Minerva Book Shop. Price Rs. 10.

Only the sternest sense of duty to be performed got the reviewer through this book. It is not at all what one would expect from the title of *Modern Islam in India,* or even from the sub-title. It is a strongly pro-Communist, bitterly anti-British account of the part various Muslim groups have played on the political scene in India during the last century, with some incidental information on religious movements within Islam, and some reference to social movements in so far as these are connected with political action or are open to comment because of their pro-Communist or anti-Communist direction. The book is written, especially in the early part, in a tone of immense superiority, and throughout proceeds on the colossal assumption that Communism, (which the author always carefully calls "socialism"), is necessarily the next step forward in social advance, so that all movements in the Communistic direction are referred to as "progressive," and all not in the Communistic direction are castigated as "reactionary." The whole book is full of barely disguised sneers at "bourgeois thinking," "smattering of liberalism," "the sham of capitalist democracy," "secular middle-class liberal," "petty bourgeoisie," etc., and distinguished leaders, men, for example, of the calibre of Amīr 'Alī and Khudā Bakhsh, are dismissed with such titles as "a pompous reactionary," "that Muslim bourgeois," "a mediocre liberal," etc., in a fashion one had fondly thought had died out a generation ago from any writing that claimed to be considered serious.

Over the years we have had fragments of information, tantalizing in their fragmentariness, of much work done on the Qur'ān in Muslim India, of new translations, new Commentaries, fresh investigation on individual points of interest, all of which point to a vigorous movement of thought in the modern Islam of India. We hear of great stirrings in the Ṣūfī orders in India, and of such material published in vernaculars on Ṣūfī doctrine and practice, which must spell matters of importance to the Indian Muslim community. One meets Indian Muslim students in Oxford, London, Egypt, and even a few in this country, who are themselves abroad for study, and who tell of important contributions to Muslim thought and Muslim literature in India of which we would gladly learn more. But of none of this do we hear in the present study of Modern Islam in India. Most of the material on these matters, of course, is in the vernaculars, but that only makes it the more important to have some account of it made available, since our Western Libraries are for the most part sadly deficient in all material that appears in the vernaculars, though they do keep up to some extent with what appears in English. Burḥān Aḥmad Farūqī's thesis on Aḥmad Sirhindī, in spite of its serious limitations, has whetted our appetites by giving us a taste of what there is in the vernacular literature of Muslim India that is of the first importance

for our studies. Mr. Smith's linguistic equipment seems to confine him to material written in English, but even so, we should very much like to know more about a goodly number of Muslim writers who publish in English; yet even such well-known writers as Khudā Bakhsh and Muḥammad Iqbāl are here discussed primarily with reference to their significance in relation to political movements, or with what the writer regards as "progressive" ideas.

Coming fresh from the statements by T. C. Carne and B. R. Wyllie on British contributions to India, statements made by missionaries who love India and the Indian people, it was passing strange to read so frequently in these pages of "the purely reactionary interests of the British," "the (British) rulers were brutal and cunning," "the mighty exploitation of British imperialism," etc. It is even more strange to anyone who has lived in India and seen with his own eyes the kindly, persistent, patiently forbearing efforts of British officials to bring together dissident factions and improve the conditions of life of the Indian communities, to see them charged all through with acting in a kind of diabolical cunning to promote antagonism in accordance with "the British imperial policy of divide and rule."

On the other hand, the book contains a great deal of useful information, not only about the workings of the Muslim League and the theories as to Pakistan, or as to the enthusiasm aroused among Indian Muslims by the writings of Muḥammad Iqbāl, but about some movements, such as the Khaksār movement, the Aḥrār party, or the very curious Khudā'ī Khidmatgār, about which those of us outside India hear but can learn very little. Quite obviously the author has laboured hard at collecting his information for this volume, and has not infrequently supplemented his reading by contact and interview with persons closely associated with the various parties and movements whose activities he describes, so that within its limits it does represent an attempt at first-hand description of these factors in the life of Indian Islam. Students not acquainted with the source material will find his accounts of the labours of Sir Syed Aḥmad Khān and Amīr 'Alī, of the Khilāfat and Pakistan movements, of the educational centres at Aligarh, Hyderabad and Delhi, full of interest; in fact the author is most at his best when merely describing. Some of his impressions from his personal contacts with the Muslim groups in India are also of no little interest; e.g., the Ahmadiyya representatives abroad strive to give the impression that their movement is the most significant thing in modern India, but Mr. Smith thinks that in spite of their much advertising they are not really an important factor in the life of their religious community. Another thing is his impression, oft recorded, of how many leaders there are who are willing to be exceedingly liberal in their public announcements, but remain most conservative in practice and in their home life.

Pages 333 to 343 come pretty near being an insult to the reader's intelligence, but the Bibliography, though almost entirely confined to books in the English language, is good and useful, and contains some titles that will be new to most students in this country.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Studies in Jewish History and Book Lore. By Alexander Marx. New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1944. 8vo. xiii, 458.

The idea of offering to a scholar and teacher at his Jubilee a *Festschrift,* or a volume of Essays by colleagues, students and friends, is by no means new, and on our Library shelves are many notable volumes of this class, but it is something unusual to offer to a respected scholar an anniversary volume of his own papers, such as we have here. These twenty-six papers were all written by Dr. Marx between the years 1907 and 1935, and were assembled in this sumptuous volume to be offered to him in celebration of his 60th birthday in 1938. That they are only now available to the public is due to the way in which the War effort has limited printing facilities.

Dr. Marx is officially the Librarian of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, and it is as a bibliophile and bibliographer that he is best known, so that it is not strange to find a goodly number of the papers in the volume devoted to matters concerned with books and famous makers of books. To the non-Jewish reader perhaps the papers of greatest interest are those giving Dr. Marx' personal appreciation of such scholars as Zunz, Steinschneider, David Hoffmann, Schechter, Friendländer, Malter and Max Margolis. The *History of the Jewish People* which he wrote in collaboration with the last-named scholar, however, had shown that Dr. Marx is also of no mean stature as a historian, and several of these papers contain contributions towards the elucidation of historical problems, which while primarily of interest to the Jewish community, are also illuminating to the general reader.

Some of the scholars of whom he writes here, such e.g., as Steinschneider, Friedländer and Malter, were also contributors to Arabic and Islamic studies, and thus have an interest for readers of the *Moslem World.* But there are besides papers on Ibn Gabirol, Maimonides, the Jews of Cochin and Spain, and one on Jewish astrology, which also give the volume a claim to be mentioned here. The volume is well printed and indexed, and contains so much of interest and stimulation, that we would join in the congratulations to Dr. Marx on so happy a celebration of his anniversary.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

The Holy Qur'an; translated from the original Arabic with Lexical, Grammatical, Historical, Geographical and Eschatological comments and explanations, and sidelights on Comparative Religion. By Abdul Majid Daryabadi. Lahore, The Taj Company, 1943. Pt. i. 4to. xii, 60 pp. Price Rs. 2.

This is the first fascicule of a new version of the Qur'ān with Commentary by an Indian Muslim. One wonders whether it will ever be completed, or like so many such ventures, remain but a fragment.

The translator seems a very able and liberal man, who has made use of an astonishing range of English works of reference (some good and some very poor), as well as of Urdu and a limited number of Arabic sources. He is disarmingly frank as to his consciousness of the meagreness of his acquaintance both with Arabic, the language from which he translates, and with English into which he translates. Obviously he has had no linguistic training, for in his Introduction he lauds as merits of the Arabic language what are really its sad defects as an instrument for the expression of thought, and is much exercised

over the impossibility of translating literally from Arabic into English, which of course is true of any two languages, and is even more of a problem, as every teacher knows, when you try to translate from English or French or German into Arabic.

His work, however, is the result of seven years of labour of love, and can be accepted as such. From what appears in this first fascicule it is not likely to contribute anything to our better understanding of the Qur'ān, but it does contribute a very great deal to our knowledge of how the Qur'ān is being interpreted by modern, forward-looking, liberal Muslims in India, and is very revealing as to the manner in which such Muslims are able to interpret their sacred Scripture so as to minister to the needs of piety in a world very different from that in which the book was first issued to the Muslim community.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

The Westminster Dictionary of the Bible. By John D. Davis, revised and re-written by Henry S. Gehman. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia. pp. 658. 16 plate-maps. $3.50.

The fifth edition of this well-known work is practically new and represents five solid years of toil. It bears the marks of Dr. Gehman's Semitic scholarship and of his conservative theological position. Because of the close relationship of the Old Testament to the Arabic-Moslem problem linguistically and in the realm of Semitic religious rites, this dictionary will prove most useful to missionaries in Moslem lands. A perusal of the articles on Azazel, Altar, Arabia, Arabic versions, Offerings, Jerusalem, Palestine, Pentateuch, etc., will prove that here the student has a compact *vade mecum* for Bible study that can take the place of many commentaries. The maps are new and excellent, as are also the several chronological tables.

S. M. Z.

From Tripoli to Marrakesh. By Kate McK. Eloerkin. 137 photographic illustrations by the author. Pond-Ekberg Co., Springfield, Mass. pp. 303. $3.75.

Both the illustrations and the text of this sumptuous book of travel in North Africa are primarily of interest to the student of Roman history and its architectural remains. But the writer has keen eyes for the present as well as the past, and notes many of the modern customs and Moslem centers of today. In addition to careful archaeological notes on the Roman occupation we have vivid descriptions of Kairwan, Tunis, Fez, Meknes, Rabat, Tlemcen and Marrakesh. Fez is the religious capital of Morocco and "a city of marvelous beauty and surprisingly clean," in spite of its seventy thousand inhabitants. It boasts an ancient university and is still a center of Koranic learning. No women are allowed in its courts and men of alien faith need special permits. The photographs of its mosques and those at Kairwan are superb. The author describes her journey in less than 150 pages, but no words are wasted. Here is a land of "violent contrasts." Barren plains and snow-topped peaks; prosperous cities and drab villages; modernistic palaces and medieval minarets; French land-owners, nomad shepherds and Arab shop-keepers; a land of wealth and of abject poverty. The book has also maps, a brief bibliography and a good index.

S. M. Z.

The Babylonian Talmud in Selection. By Leo Auerbach. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1944. pp. 286. $3.00.

To many ministers the Talmud is a Jewish work, unread and unappreciated. The Talmud as a whole is too lengthy to be required reading but important enough that all students of religion should be acquainted with it. The cover on Mr. Auerbach's book states, "The present selection and translation is the first one presenting a full cross-section of the sixty-three books of the Babylonian Talmud, giving passages chosen to represent every aspect of the monumental work."

The thirteen-page introduction gives a brief story of the Talmud, with adequate definitions of the Midrashim, Halachoth, Haggadoth, Mishna, Gemara, the Amoraim and the Tannaim, also a glossary of forty-one terms. The selected portions of the Talmud include the subjects, Fathers of the Mishna; Agriculture; Holy Days, Sabbath, Passover, Day of Atonement, Day of Fasting; Women, childless widows, the marriage contract, adultery, divorces, betrothals; Law, civil law, law of procedure, flogging, oaths. These selections open the door to a better understanding of the teaching of the Talmud which was a great factor in shaping Judaism.

G. Irvin Lehman

Hartford Seminary

A Shi'ite Creed. By Asaf A. A. Fyzee. Calcutta, Oxford University Press. pp. xiii + 144. Islamic Research Association Series, No. 9.

The Islamic Research Association has put students of Shi'ism further in its debt by the publication of "A Shi'ite Creed." This little work, No. 9 in the series sponsored by the I.R.A., is a translation of Risalatu'l-I'tiqadati'l-Imamiya by the celebrated doctor Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Ali Ibn Babawayhi al-Qummi, who is also known as Shaykh Saduq. "This is one of the earliest Shi'ite creeds extant." It is the author's hope that "an exact rendering into English, with the addition of comparative notes and full indexes, will prove of value for the study of the historical evolution of the Shi'ite creed."

The few copies of this work that are known have not been fully compared and edited, but the translator has used three editions and believes that complete editing will not nullify the usefulness of the translation made at this time.

The writer of the creed, Ibn Babawayhi, is the author of one of the Four Books of the Shi'a. He died in 381/991 and so preceded by 350 years 'Allama-i-Hilli, whose popular creed has heretofore held the field. Ibn Babawayhi is held in high esteem among all Ithna 'Ashariyya. It was the intention of Mr. Fyzee to include a "systematic introduction to this translation, giving a comparative and historical account of the Shi'ite creed (p. 5), but that has not now been possible. After a statement of the writings of Shaykh Saduq, the translation of the *Risala* is given in full.

Notes by Mr. Fyzee, comparing, clarifying and supplementing the translation, often with very useful references, are numerous and helpful. Four indices: A. Quranic verses; B. Subjects; C. Names and Titles; and D. Technical Terms, make the work readily useful to every reader.

John N. Hollister

The Vitality of the Arab Press

Dr. A. J. Arberry in a review of recent Arabic publications in *The Asiatic Review* remarks:

"Each passing year brings further proof of the growing range and vitality of the present renaissance of scholarship and writing in the Arab world. Even all the well-known difficulties resulting from the war, in particular that acute shortage of paper and newsprint from which the countries of the Middle East have been suffering equally with ourselves, have not arrested the abundant flow of books from the printing presses, especially those of Cairo.

"Fully as remarkable is the steadily rising standard of book-production among the Arabs. The days of the cheap and crowded yellow print, abounding with errors and a plague on the eyes, are now long past. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, apart from illustrations and binding, the average Arabic book nowadays compares quite favourably with all but the special and de luxe editions of Western publishers. And one does not mind paying a slightly higher price for Arabic books when one purchases these fully compensating advantages. Even now, despite the inflationary tendencies obtaining in the Arab countries, books are very cheap compared with European standards."

The Spread of English in the Middle East

The cultural and linguistic efforts of the British Council for the Middle East are well known. Not only in Egypt but beyond there are British Institutes exerting a wide influence through lectures, libraries, concerts, films, etc. We learn that there are four British Institutes in Iraq, at Baghdad, Mosul, Basrah and Kirkuk, attended in all by more than 1,600 students and club members. The Council's work has seen a rapid expansion under the direction of Mr. T. W. Murray, since its inception in 1940, and the number of students at each Institute is increasing steadily.

The British Council's work in Iran, now under the direction of Mr. C. H. Owen, has expanded greatly in the past two years. In addition to the Anglo-Iranian Institute at Teheran, where there are 1,500 club and student members, Institutes have recently been set up at Isfahan and Shiraz.

In Ethiopia the English classes at the Council's British Institute and the activities of its Anglo-Ethiopian Club in Addis Ababa have been well attended since their opening at the end of 1942. During the last 12 months, branches of the Institutes have been formed at Harar, Dessie and Jimma. No less important is the Council's collaboration in the educational plans of the Ethiopian Government, and the Emperor's Secondary School for Boys and the Empress's Girls' School are directed by British Council staff.

At Aden the teaching of the English language is a very important part of the Council's work. There are two Institutes, one for men and

one for women, where classes are held and the usual Institute activities take place. The women's section is a new institution and it has proved more popular among the Arabian women than was at first thought likely.

Plans are now being drawn up for the construction of a school at Sheikh Othman, to be known as the Lord Lloyd College, where general education can be given to boys from all over the Southern Arabian Peninsula. It is necessary first of all to provide teachers, and these are being trained in the Sudan.

There is also close collaboration between the British Council and the Turkish Ministry of Education in the sphere of technical education.

By founding lending libraries in five Turkish towns and by importing English books and periodicals into Turkey in large numbers, the British Council has succeeded in stimulating great interest in English life and thought. Exhibitions and film shows have also contributed their share to the keen interest shown by the Turks in our institutions and way of life.

Publications sponsored by the Council include a monthly magazine *Review* and a weekly paper *Do You Speak English?* as well as numerous translations from English authors into Turkish. Monthly medical, engineering and agricultural bulletins are proving very popular. There is thus practically no aspect of English life that has not been illustrated through the Council's activities over the last years.

—*Great Britain and the Near East*

Syria and the War

Rev. Paul Erdman, for many years manager of the Presbyterian Mission Press in Beirut and now retired, says that, generally speaking, the work of the Syria Mission has been much less interfered with during the present war than in the first world war, and the people have suffered less. The Mission Press has not lost a day on account of the war, although its work and usefulness have been somewhat restricted. The past two years have been financially better than a series of very good years preceding the war. One handicap has been the difficulty of obtaining sufficient supplies of paper and other materials.

During the past two years, the publication of two important books has been carried through. One is the sixth volume of the Old Testament Commentary in Arabic, leaving only one more to complete the set of twelve Bible Commentaries. The other is "The Life of Christ," by Rev. George A. Ford, D.D., who was gifted with a thorough knowledge of Arabic, and his use of it as a writer was highly acceptable to Moslem and Christian alike. Mr. Erdman feels that the most hopeful feature of the Mission's work during the last fifteen years has been the opening of doors for direct evangelism among Moslems, in a way that has never been possible before. The great hindrance is that the most fundamental and vital of the "Four Freedoms" does not exist in these lands—the freedom to follow the religion of one's choice. Not a few secret believers are known, but the missionaries are sure there are many unknown.

—*Women and Missions*

Medical Progress in Turkey

Dr. H. Arni Askel, chief surgeon of the Haseki Hospital, Istanbul, recently gave a lecture on the history of Medicine in Turkey. We quote the closing paragraph of his interesting study (*Asiatic Review*, July, 1944):

Students are now regularly sent to Europe, and on returning to their country each becomes head of one of the departments; in this way Turkish medicine is gradually making itself known. The Quarantine Department and the Coastal Medical Organization have been established, and Turkey is a party to the International Quarantine Regulations. In this age, too, there has been great progress in surgery. The Cerranhhane (Surgery School) continues to progress. Modern surgery was trying to establish itself in the country, and, while at first it made slow progress, three young doctors who gained prizes in a competitive examination went, one of them to Vienna and two to Paris, in order to study new methods of surgery. When they returned to their own country they began to teach the new methods of surgery in the Medical School and to publish and to make known the antiseptic methods which had just begun to be used in Europe. But the really Turkish representative and exponent of modern surgery is our Professor Cemil Topuzlu, who is still alive. On his return to this country from Paris in 1895 he became an assistant instructor at the Medical College and afterwards became a professor and established the new method of antiseptic surgery, rendering great service to his country by instructing thousands of students. Thanks to the work of the last fifty years, we can say that modern medicine is at last established in Turkey. Our doctors, who are specialists in every branch of medicine, follow its progress in Europe and in America and, by means of regular publications, make known to the whole medical world our own medicine. Thanks to the Government's practice of sending doctors to foreign countries for the purpose of studying, and thanks to the devotion to their profession of a great many of our specialists, and thanks to their constantly bringing to their country at their own expense fresh publications about their profession, you can readily understand that Turkish medicine continues to make great strides. There are now up to two hundred hospitals, including our very modern establishments and model hospitals, innumerable maternity and child welfare centres, and a great many dispensaries and hospitals for infectious diseases and tuberculosis sanatoria. There are organizations for combating tuberculosis, fever and venereal disease. In our school for nurses we train nurses who are really experienced in their work; they join our large medical personnel. There are altogether 4,000 doctors, both in private practice and in the service of the State and other health organizations. Particularly since the establishment of the Republic great progress has been made in health matters, as in every other subject.

The Three Essentials of a Mission Hospital

There are three definite and indispensable elements in hospital work that is really an internal part of the missionary enterprise:

1. Efficient medical treatment, including good nursing;

2. The spirit of Christ throughout; and
3. The simple, verbal explanation that this is Christian, that He is our strength, and that He is to be praised and thanked rather than we.

Also there are three classes of people to be planned for in achieving a healthful spiritual impact—the hospital workers, the patients, and the Christian Church.

For the employees nothing can be substituted for our loving, considerate Christian attitude in all our relations with them, our care for their health and welfare in every way, our thought for their wives and children especially when they are ill, and our provision for their old age. The first item in efficiency is *Personality,* and we shall usually get the best service from the helpers we have trained ourselves. I believe in the unique value of beginning each day's work with a half-hour chapel service which all attend. In the course of several years all will accumulate treasures of thought and stores of knowledge that will influence their lives permanently. This morning chapel service has been a feature of our hospital's work from the beginning, and it has grown on us with the years.

For the stream of patients flowing through the hospital, there must be a planned system of constantly informing and explaining to them what our Christ and Christianity are and stand for. This is a department of a Mission hospital as essential as the nursing, and requires someone with as much skill. A regular schedule of Bible readings and talks chosen with care, must be carried out with devotion, not by doctors and nurses in the odds and ends of their time, but by workers trained for it and with definite leisure for it. As soon as suitable workers are available, the hospital's religious teacher should be a national, and a member of the hospital force.

For the growing Christian Church also the medical work has the duty of helping it include healing in its thinking and its plans. We can arrange the work of our employees so as to enable them to attend the Church's services and must be loyal members ourselves. Outside members of the Church should be brought in to lead our chapel service occasionally, and Hospital Sunday should be observed annually in the church.

The Christian community ought to be healthier physically than the general population, because of the sound health that comes from Christian living, because of reliance on common sense instead of charms in dealing with disease and its prevention.

—*Edinburgh Medical Missionary Quarterly*

A New Verdict on India

"Verdict on India," by Mr. Beverley Nichols, now that it is published, is likely to provoke almost as widespread and violent a storm throughout India as did "Mother India" by Miss Mayo years ago. Miss Mayo attacked the social abuses of the country, Mr. Beverley Nichols ventures upon the even more explosive debunking of its politicians, its native Press, its claims to culture.

Here is material on which the Indian journalists can exercise a

vituperative pen for years to come. The halo of sainthood is torn from the brows of Mr. Gandhi with a more resolute hand than that which has exercised itself in our own columns. Other Indian leaders, with the exception of Mr. Jinnah, are treated with scarcely more respect. The broad conclusion is that India is wholly unready for any real form of democracy.

A book so downright and emphatic in its pronouncements may be an embarrassment to the Government. It will stir up political agitation. But it certainly need not be condemned on that ground. It bluntly tells some truths that badly needed telling, and it may open the eyes of some of the sentimental politicians in this country and abroad who have hitherto accepted the Congress Party propaganda without question, and have thereby done a vast amount of mischief.

—*Great Britain and the Near East*

The Problem of Arab Union

Some writers emphasize the obvious difficulties of any Pan-Arabian state or union. Others are blind advocates of such union. Kenneth Williams in a recent article points out that the real crux of the problem is private ambition: It is true that the different ambitions of various Arab States and various Arab statesmen do not disappear just because a common umbrella of words was found; it is true that Saudi Arabia and the Yemen did not sign the document with the others; it is true that certain schemes, such as that for a "Greater Syria," which had been worked out within the framework of general Arab unity, did not appear to be noticeably advanced at the Alexandria meeting. But, though details are important, they are details. As the ship is more than the crew, the common Arab dream is greater than any particular ambition of any Arab dreamer.

To suggest, therefore, that the cause of Arab solidarity cannot progress simply because a leader of Saudi Arabia may hate a leader of Iraq or of Egypt, or vice versa, to think that because one Arab is suspicious that another Arab is seeking to get all the honour of obtaining Arab unity no solidarity is ever possible, is to mistake the wood for the trees.

In saying that, one does not of course imply that Arab solidarity is "just round the corner." Manifestly it is not. It may be ten, twenty, fifty years away. Known obstacles are great, and there may be others as yet unguessed. But that the goal is over the hills, and that Arab eyes are on those hills, is scarcely disputable. The caravan moves impressively on.

The Pilgrimage to Mecca

The Indian Muslim daily newspaper, *Dawn,* made this comment on the Government of India's decision to allot ships to enable Indian Muslims to make the pilgrimage to Mecca this year, says *Reuter.*

"While Muslims are grateful to the Government for arranging Haj sailings this year it is deplorable that adequate facilities are not provided for intending pilgrims. The Government has decided to allot ships to carry a limited number of pilgrims and the Government have only left themselves open to criticism by prescribing a limit and

not defining it. The Government seem to have fixed the quota on the last four years without making allowance for conditions obtaining in the Provinces.

"There is acute shortage of food in the Hedjaz (of which Mecca is the capital). It is the bounden duty of the Indian Government to make satisfactory arrangements for feeding the pilgrims during their sojourn in the Hedjaz."

Religious Freedom in Iran

A favorable report on the religious situation in the Soviet-occupied region of northern Iran has been made to the Pope and high Vatican prelates by Mgr. Alcide Marina, Apostolic Delegate to Teheran, who arrived in Rome last December.

He reported that the commanding generals of the Soviet forces, who are mostly Armenians, had repeatedly declared to the chiefs of the religious communities that they did not want to interfere with religious affairs and that they had kept their promise.

Knowing the religious fanaticism of the Iranian Moslems, the Russians have avoided atheistic propaganda.

Sudan Medical Mission for Pilgrims

A medical mission in charge of a Sudanese Medical Inspector accompanied the pilgrim from the Sudan to Saudi Arabia last Pilgrim season. The mission visited Mecca and Medina, and was then stationed at Jedda to provide medical care and supervision for Sudanese pilgrims waiting to embark for Suakin.

It proved to be of such value that the Sudan Government has decided to enlarge the medical mission which will accompany the pilgrims next season so as to provide staff for a tented hospital at Jedda, and at the same time to provide medical treatment and supervision for Sudanese by Sudanese at Mecca and Medina during the whole of the pilgrim season. The Saudi Government has approved this expansion of the Sudan Medical Mission.

One doctor will accompany the first batch of pilgrims from Suakin to Jedda and open a tented field hospital there. The second doctor will join him later and both doctors will accompany the pilgrims to Mecca and Arafat during the period of "Yom-Arafat" after which one will return to Jedda where he will be in charge of the hospital, and the other will accompany the Sudanese pilgrims to Medina and remain there with them for about a month.

The Accuracy of Al Biruni as Geographer

Professor A. Z. Validi Togan in the *Memoirs of the Geographical Survey of India* (No. 53) makes interesting extracts and observations on the noted Perso-Arab geographer of the eleventh century: It must not be thought that al-Biruni slavishly followed the Greeks, for he was a scientist capable of making his own observations, able to correct the errors of his predecessors, and to add to their sum of knowledge.

The second extract from "The definition of the distances between places for the correction of distances between inhabited places" shows personal observation of an original nature unusual among medieval

Arab geographers. For instance, though here on the authority of another writer, he reports that near Sirdjan in Kirman you find dead stumps of palm-roots in the ground although there are no longer living palm trees on account of the desiccation of the region. Again, he discourses on his theory that before the existence of mankind land had become sea and vice versa. The Arabian desert, he says, was once sea but the sea has become filled up; this can be perceived when wells are dug and there appear strata of sand, earth, small pebbles, then bones, pottery, and glass which could not possibly have been intentionally buried there. Stones are discovered which, split open, show evidences of fossilized shells and what is known to the Arabs as "fishes' ears." These are also to be found in the region to the southeast of the Caspian Sea. Al-Biruni notes that between the time of Ptolemy and his own era the course of the Oxus has changed, and he quotes frequently from Greek writers, occasionally even citing the Greek name for a Persian province, such as, for instance, Kirman. He speaks of finding astronomical tables (*zidj*) made in the time of Diocletian, at Ghazna, and tells how he observed an eclipse in Khwarizm (Khiva), comparing his findings with those of a brother savant who had observed the same eclipse at Baghdad. In this treatise, too, he repeats the well-known story of how the Caliph al-Ma'mun ordered a degree to be measured out on the earth's surface.

Dilemma in Palestine

Under this title the Committee on Work among Moslems, of the Foreign Missions Conference, has issued an important Bulletin prepared by its Secretary, Dr. Glora M. Wysner. It presents the Arab side of the question, as over against that of the Zionists, and has had a large circulation. The whole question is carefully discussed, and Dr. Wysner's conclusion is: "More and more Christians today are seeking to understand world problems and to wield a Christian influence in their solution. Palestine is a significant part of the world picture. The facts in regard to Palestine must be faced courageously and fearlessly, and with as great an attempt toward Christian understanding as the problems in any other part of the world. It is well to remember certain Christian obligations, such as: to defend the inalienable rights of a people to make their own choices; to protect minority groups; to seek to provide places of refuge for persecuted peoples, and to help them preserve their cultural and religious heritage. These obligations must be fulfilled without wronging some other group that loves freedom, but whose leadership as yet is weak and whose people have not had equal educational, economic and social opportunities for development."

The Bulletin may be secured from the Committee of Work among Moslems, Foreign Missions Conference, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

The Geography of the Jordan. Nelson Glueck. (In *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D. C. December, 1944. pp. 719-744).

A description of the history and present-day development of a river so important to Christians, Arabs and Jews.

In the Deserts of Khwarizm. Prof. S. N. Tolstov. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. October, 1944. pp. 408-414).

Reviews the history of the section and tells of the archaeological progress made by the author under the auspices of the Marr Institute of the History of Material Culture.

Oriental Studies in Afghanistan. Richard N. Frye. (In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Baltimore. July September, 1944. pp. 144-145).

As early as 1922, French archaeologists stimulated the Afghans to interest in their country's past and steady work is being done in ethnology and archaeology, accompanied by extensive studies in Pushtū.

Recent Arabic Publications. A. J. Arberry. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. October, 1944. pp. 405-406).

A bibliography.

II. ARABIA

Arabia. Norah Twitchell. (In *The Arab World,* New York. Vol. 1, No. 1. pp. 41-47).

Describes modern travel conditions.

An Arabian Bibliography. Lieut.-Col. Gerald de Gaury. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1944. pp. 315-320).

"A list of some books on that part of Arabia now ruled by Ibn Saud, on the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, and on closely connected subjects".

Arabian Oil. Orlo Truesdale. (In *The Arab World,* New York. Vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 5-9).

A statistical and economic survey of the field.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

The Dhunnunids of Toledo. D. M. Dunlop. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. 1942, part 2. pp. 77-96).

A thorough historical study of a great family.

ISLAM AND NATIONALISM. John G. Hazam. (In *The Arab World,* New York. Vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 18-22; 106-109).
A thoughtful, realistic presentation.

ISLAM IN INDIA. Sir Firozkhan Noon. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1944. pp. 233-241).
"a bird's-eye view of the religion of Islam in India and how it spread", together with a plea for Pakistan.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

AL-MĀWARDĪ: A Sketch of his Life and Work. Qazi Ahmad Mian Akhtar. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. July, 1944. pp. 283-300).
Tells of the learned lawyer, writer and political economist of Basra (1072-1158).

KARAWYINE—The Oldest University of the Middle Ages. G. Kheirallah. (In *The Arab World,* New York. Vol. 1, no. 1. pp. 29-38).
Founded in Fez in 859 by Fatimah Al-Karawiyah, the institution still functions and offers a notable roster of graduates.

REMARKS ON A RECENT EDITION OF ARABIC PAPYRUS LETTERS. G. Levi Della Vida. (In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Baltimore. July-September, 1944. pp. 127-137).
A critical analysis of a study by Dr. Karl Jahn of private letters of the early Islamic age.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

MODERN COMMUNICATIONS IN IRAQ. G. N. Loggin. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1944. pp. 302-305).
Long-range planning and a stable government will consolidate the good beginnings which have been made.

MODERN PALESTINE. Humphrey Bowman. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1944. pp. 265-272).
Considers economic and social aspects.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH EFFORT IN TURKEY AND SOCIAL ASSISTANCE. Bay Nuzhet Baba. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. October, 1944. pp. 399-402).
Offers proof of a fine, sustained accomplishment.

TREBIZOND AND THE PERSIAN TRANSIT TRADE. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1944. pp. 289-301).
A statistical and historical study.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

ARAB UNITY—A Vision of Virility. Major Chefik Haddad. (In *The Arab World,* New York. Vol. 1, no. 1. pp. 14-17).
Outlines a plan to bring about coöperation.

THE GANDHI-JINNAH CONVERSATIONS. Sir Frederick Puckle. (In *Foreign Affairs,* New York. January, 1945. pp. 318-323).
The meetings accomplished little beyond showing plainly that Pakistan must precede any attempt by the Moslem League to

unite with the Congress Party to further efforts to secure Indian independence.

IRAN'S FUTURE: SOME LESSONS FROM THE PAST. A. H. Hamzavi. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1944. pp. 273-280).

Surveys happenings since 1941 and anticipates a bright future under the Teheran Declaration.

NATIONALISM VS. FRENCH IMPERIALISM IN MOROCCO. G. Kheirallah. (In *The Arab World,* New York. Vol. 1, no. 1. pp. 60-67).

An indictment of French methods in particular and European methods in general.

PALESTINE. (In *The Arab World,* New York. Vol. 1, no. 1. pp. 72-91).

Includes the testimony of Philip K. Hitti before the Foreign Affairs Committee; Senator Bailey's reply to Rabbi Rypins; a cable from Jamil al-Madfai of Irak to Senators Wagner and Taft; and a dispatch from Henry Gorrell of the United Press.

THE PLACE OF LEBANON IN THE SUN. Faris S. Malouf. (In *The Arab World,* New York. Vol. 1, no. 1. pp. 23-27).

Account of the country's struggle to gain independence.

TRANSJORDAN: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE. B. Toukan. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1944. pp. 253-264).

A historical resumé, ending with the hope for an independent state instead of a mandated one.

TURKEY ON THE STRAIT AND NARROW PATH OF NEUTRALITY. Derek Patmore. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1944. pp. 281-288).

The author feels that Turkey's rulers have conducted a difficult operation very diplomatically.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

NEGLECTED ARABIA, New York. July-August-September, 1944. Whole issue.

Gives stimulating reports of activities and progress in the schools, hospitals and other enterprises of the mission.

A SURVEY OF THE YEAR 1944: THE NEAR EAST. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London. January, 1945. pp. 30-41).

Although the Arab-Jewish problem and the Syrian question are still unsettled, Anglo-Arab relations are improved and good opportunities exist for Christian workers to foster a spirit of mutual understanding and an appreciation of "deeply-rooted cultural and political aims".